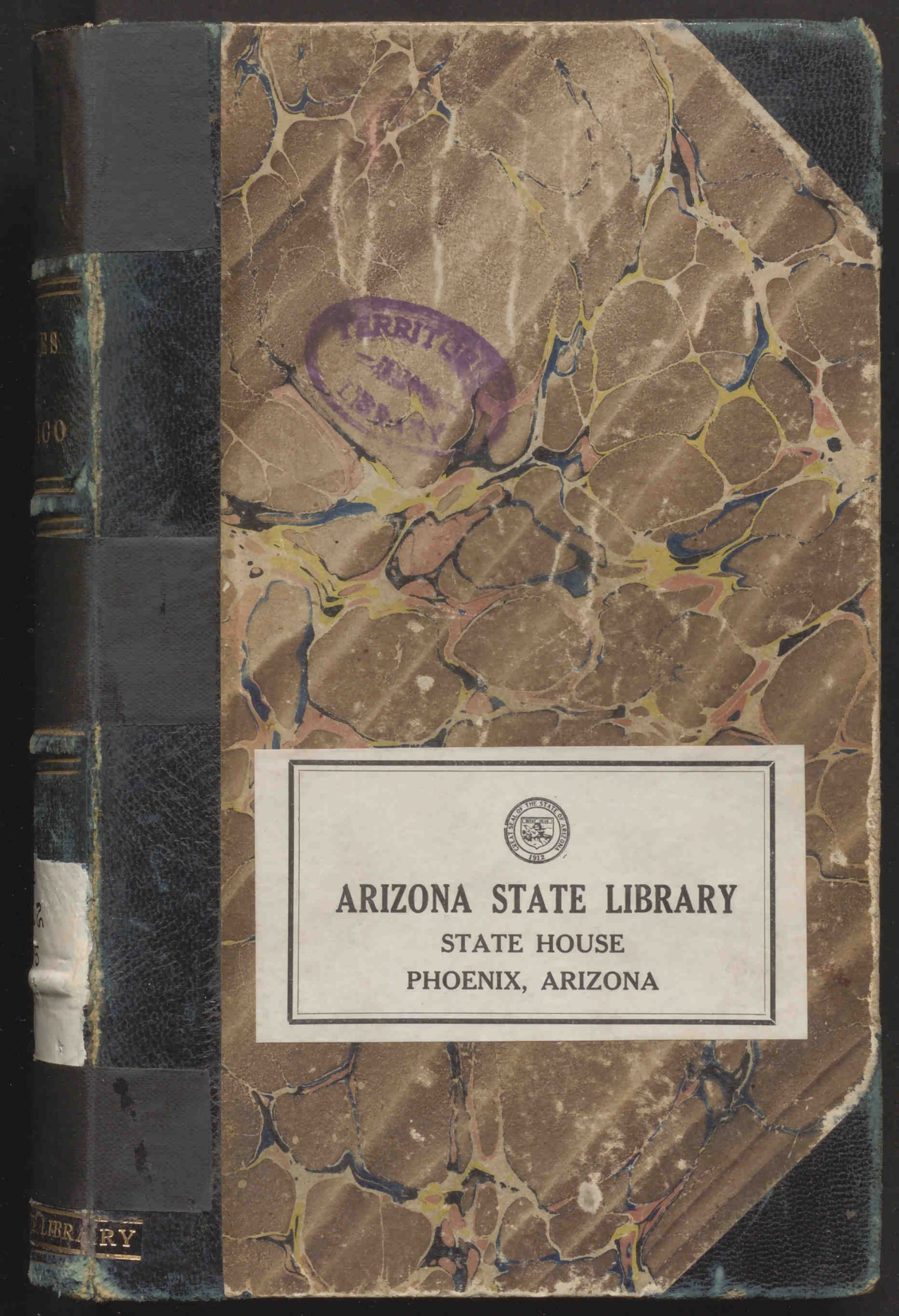
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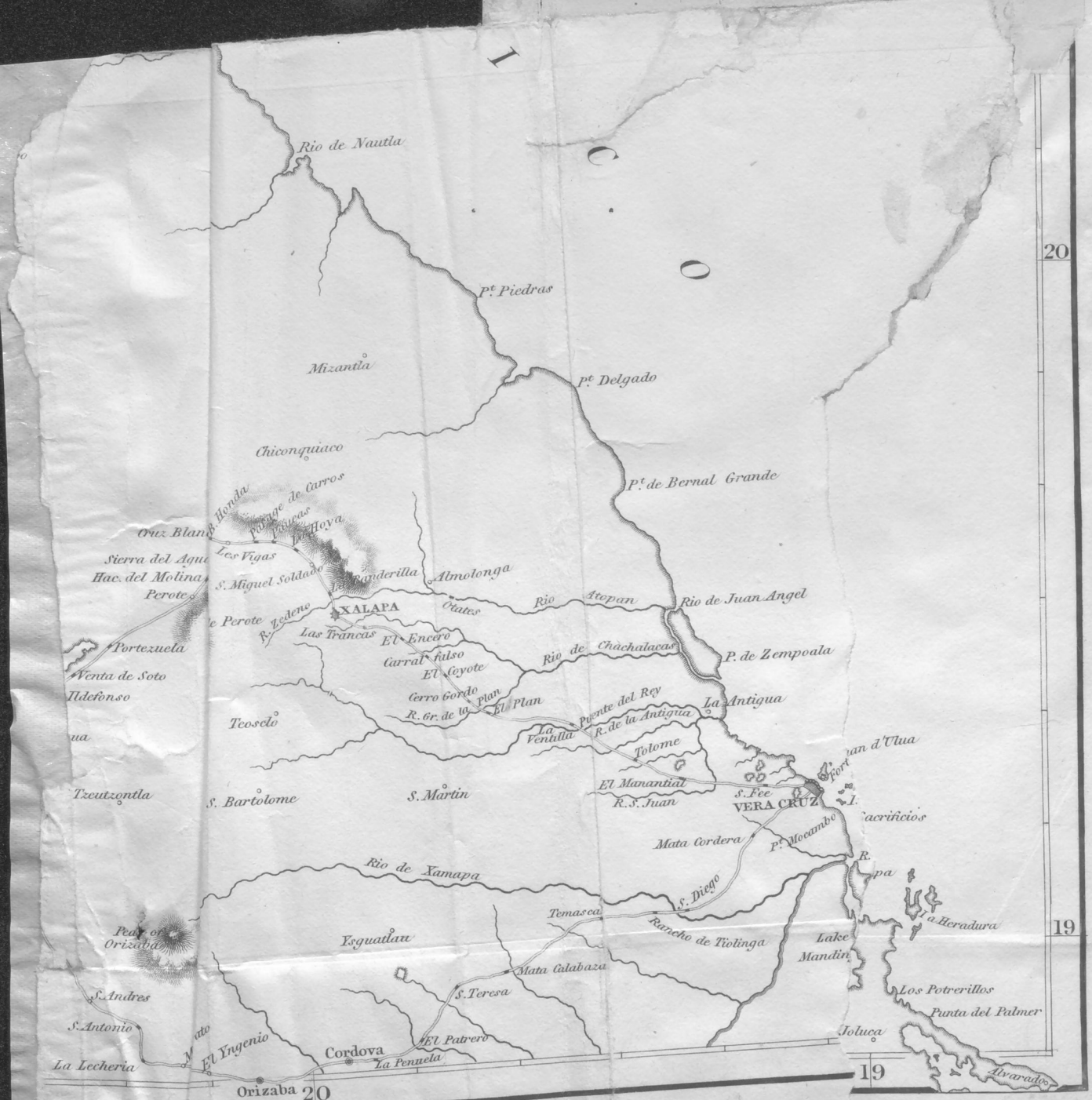
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Esquatlan
Mata Calabaza
S. Teresa
S. Andres
S. Antonio
El Ingenio
Cordova
El Patrero
La Pennela
La Lecheria
Orizaba
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19

NOTES ON MEXICO,

MADE IN

THE AUTUMN OF 1822.

ACCOMPANIED BY AN

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE REVOLUTION,

AND

Translations of Official Reports

ON

THE PRESENT STATE OF THAT COUNTRY.

BY

J. R. POINSETT, Esq.

MEMBER OF CONGRESS, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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THE Notes, which form the subject of these pages, were written during the Author's rapid journey through Mexico, in the autumn of 1822, and were addressed in letters to a friend, without any intention of their ever being made public. But the deep and peculiar interest felt by the people of the United States, in every thing relating to that country, and the imperfect accounts that exist of the causes and character of the revolution which it has lately undergone, have induced him to consent to their publication.

A Diary is not perhaps the best form for a work of this description; nor is it that which the Author himself would have preferred; but to have altered the letters, so as to present a more connected narrative, would have required more time than he could spare from other avocations; and to have delayed their publication much longer would have deprived them of their chief interest.

This will account for, if it does not excuse, the want of arrangement, and the desultory nature of the contents of this volume. The Notes were written at every moment of leisure during the Author's residence at the capital, and in the progress of his journey through the country, and, with the single exception of the brief Historical Sketch, contained in the Appendix, the information they contain was minuted at the time it was collected.

They are sent forth without any pretension, in the hope that a familiar account of that portion of Mexico through which the author travelled, may induce the reader to seek information from better sources; and with this view he recommends the works of Lorenzana, Alzate, Clavigero, Boturini, Mier, Robinson, and Humboldt; from all of which, but particularly from the latter, he has drawn liberally.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Voyage to Puerto Rico—Appearance of the Coast of San Domingo —Arrival at the Port of San Juan—Island of Puerto Rico 1

CHAPTER II.

Voyage from Puerto Rico to Vera Cruz—Jamaica—Island of Cayman—The Peak of Orizaba—Arrival at Vera Cruz—Description of that Port - - - - 12

CHAPTER III.

Departure from Vera Cruz—Village of Santa Fè—River Antigua—Puente del Rey—Plan del Rio—Jalapa - - 24

CHAPTER IV.

Travelling Equipage—Departure from Jalapa—La Hoya—Las Vigas —Coffre de Perote—Town and Castle of Perote—Tepe Agualco —Ojo de Agua—Nopaluco—Pass of the Pinal—Puebla 39

CHAPTER V.

Cholula—Volcanoes of Puebla—San Martin—Puente de Tesmelucos —Rio Frio—Cordova — Mexico—First settlement and present situation of that City—Leperos—Market of Mexico—Alameda—Aqueducts—Palace of the Viceroy - - 57

CHAPTER VI.

The Cathedral—Mexican Calendar—Statue of Charles IV.—The Mint—Dissolution of Congress—Day of All Saints—Interview with Iturbide - - - - 73

CHAPTER VII.

The Mineria—Academy of Fine Arts — Churches—Climate of Mexico—Chapoltepec—Prince of the Union—Evangelistas—Paseo of La Viga—Chinampas or Floating Gardens—Theatre 94

CHAPTER VIII.

Canal of La Viga—University—State of Learning—Cockpits and Bull Fights—Cigar Manufactory—Monopoly of Tobacco—Church of our Lady at Guadeloupe—Miraculous Image of the Virgin—Present situation of the City of Mexico—Population 110

CHAPTER IX.

Commerce — Manufactures — Revenue — Population — Military Force - - - - - 127

CHAPTER X.

Government—State of the Arts—Botanic Garden—Arbol de las Manitas—Character of the People—Departure from Mexico—Guautitlan—Canal of Huehuetoca—Bata—Culture of the Maguey—Tula—Cabins of the Peasantry—Arroyo Sarco—San Juan del Rio—Colonial Trade - - - 154

CHAPTER XI.

Queretaro—Apaseo—The Baxio—River Laxa—Celaya—Agriculture of Mexico—Effects of the Civil Wars—Las Villas—Hacienda de Burras—Marfil—Guanaxuato - - 182

CHAPTER XII.

Mine of Valenciana—Population of Guanaxuato—Hacienda de Plata—Amalgamation—Mines of New Spain - 205

CHAPTER XIII.

Leave Guanaxuato—Rincon—Plain and Town of San Felipe—Xaral—San Luis Potosi—Peotillas—San Isidro—Quelitan—Buena Vista—La Viga—Mountains of Norla—Tula—Mountains of Los Gallos—Descent of the Mountain of Contadera—Santa Barbara—Mount Chamal—Mountain of Las Cucharras—River Limon—Character of the Peasantry—River Raya de Sargento—Bernal and Village of Orcasitas—Carizo—Altamira - - - 234

CHAPTER XIV.

Altamira—Pueblo viejo de Tampico—Havana—Island of Cuba—Piracy - - - - - 273

APPENDIX - - - - - 1

NOTES ON MEXICO.

CHAPTER I.

Voyage to Puerto Rico—Appearance of the Coast of San Domingo—Arrival at the Port of San Juan—Island of Puerto Rico.

I LEFT Charleston in the afternoon of the 28th of August, and proceeded in a pilot boat to the corvette John Adams, then lying at single anchor outside of the bar. We reached the ship a little after sunset; I was received kindly and hospitably by Captain R., who introduced me to my fellow-passengers and to the officers of the ship. Orders were immediately given to weigh anchor, and the men ran round the capstern cheerily, to the sound of the drum and fife. The anchor was soon a-trip; the sails filled with a favourable breeze, and the ship under way. To me this has ever been a moment of delightful excitement. I have frequently stood on the deck of a gallant ship, when the anchor was weighing and the topsails sheeting home, and always with strong feelings of hope and exultation, whether, as at present, bound on a voyage to visit and explore new countries, or returning to my native land.

29th.—To my surprise, and much to my annoyance, I learned that the ship is ordered to touch at Puerto Rico before proceeding to Vera Cruz; this will protract our voyage very much, and shorten the time of my stay in Mexico. I must make the best of it. My fellow-passengers are agreeable and well informed: the officers of a man of war have, most of them, seen various parts of the world; and as no two men represent what they have seen in the same manner, and few ever observe the same things, it is amusing to compare their several accounts of the places they have visited.

30th, 31st.—Visited the ship, and found every part of it clean and in excellent order; the lower hold and between decks are frequently whitewashed and fumigated, and every precaution taken to preserve the health of the crew in a tropical climate. The men are sometimes exercised at the great guns, when they perform all the manœuvres of an action—it is an animating sight.

1st September to the 9th.—Calms with squalls of rain; heat excessive. No one, who has not experienced it, can form an idea how sickening and oppressive is a perfectly calm day in these latitudes; not a breath of air to cool the heated atmosphere; the ocean an unruffled glassy surface, reflecting the burning rays of the sun, and adding to the intensity of the heat; while the sails are flapping heavily to the masts by the swelling motion of the ship. The men do their duty listlessly, as if deprived of all energy. We have

made but little way, and the time has passed off heavily.

10th, 11th.—These are days of joy and exultation to every American; and we celebrated them in the best way we could do at sea. They are marked by two great naval actions, both equally distinguished for the obstinate courage and gallantry of the officers and men who fought them, and for the presence of mind and undaunted valour of the commanders, as well as for the important results of the victories.

11th to the 15th.—Still we have had only light baffling winds, nothing to cheer us but a chase of three hours, when the ship presented an animated scene, all hands actively employed making sail. The stranger proved to be a French ship from Havre, bound to New Orleans—neither news nor newspapers.

17th.—Yesterday we descried the highlands of San Domingo, and this morning dispatched a boat to obtain some fruit. It returned in the afternoon, and the officer informs us, that we were in Samana bay. It is unfortunate that we should have fallen so far to leeward of our port: but *patientia per fuerza*. The land of San Domingo is lofty and broken, and the outline bold and picturesque; we are not, however, near enough fully to enjoy the beauties of the scenery.

18th to the 24th.—Beating to windward against wind and current—on the 20th passed the Islands of Mona and Monica, and on the 21st made the western extremity of Puerto Rico. We are now near enough to the land to distinguish the planta-

tions of palms and bananas, and all the luxuriant vegetation of the tropics.

26th.—After passing one day in sight of the Moro Castle, we are at length anchored in the port of San Juan. The town is situated on the south side of the hills, and did not come in view until we had passed the Moro, and were within the harbour. Although closely built up, it does not appear capable of containing so many as twenty thousand inhabitants, the reported amount of the population.

We have just received the visit of the captain of the port, who informs us that some alarm has lately been excited by the discovery of an intended insurrection of the slave population. Although the slaves are not numerous, the vicinity of the republic of Hayti renders such a movement a probable event.

27th.—On landing this morning I was agreeably surprised to find the town very clean and tolerably well built. It is situated on the declivity of a steep hill, and at first I was inclined to attribute its cleanliness to the torrents of rain, so frequent in this climate; but I find, on inquiry, that the police regulations are excellent, and are rigidly enforced. We strolled round the fortifications, which are well constructed and judiciously situated. They occupy a narrow island, about two miles long, on which the town stands, and which is connected with the main by a bridge strongly fortified with a téte de pont. This is united by a chain of small forts with the castle of San Christopher, a very strong fortress, situated so as to

defend the eastern entrance of the town, and commanding all the works towards the north and east.

In 1798, an attempt was made to take this place by a British force, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie. The troops landed on the east side of the town, but met with so vigorous a resistance at the first fort, that they were compelled to abandon the attack. This work was manned by some Frenchmen who happened to be in the fort at that time, and who volunteered their services to assist in defending the town. Sir Ralph Abercrombie, after this repulse, abandoned the siege and re-embarked his forces.

For some time past our trade has been much harassed by privateers fitted out in the different ports of this island. The principal object of our touching here is to remonstrate with the governor against these depredations. Under the absurd pretext of blockading the whole coast of the Spanish main, a few small privateers cruise in the Mona and Sombrero passages, and capture all vessels bound to or from any port on that exten sive coast. The prizes are carried into the small ports on the south and west of the island, where they are at the mercy of courts notoriously corrupt. The governor assured us that he had warned the commanders of privateers not to capture vessels sailing under the flag of the United States, and that he should in future exact a bond to a large amount from the Armateurs, in order to indemnify those who might sustain losses from illegal captures; that he had no authority to

suppress privateering, as the commissions were issued by the government of Spain, but he promised to exert his influence to prevent their being fitted out. I look upon these professions as words of course, and am of opinion that these acts of piracy ought to be restrained by the strong hand of power, and the government of the island be made responsible for the illegal acts of its inhabitants. The dominion exercised by the mother country over these colonies, is too remote and inconsiderable to enable her to controul the lawless banditti that inhabit the coast of Puerto Rico and Cuba. The authorities of the islands can alone keep them within bounds, and they ought to be compelled to do so.

Desirous of obtaining an insight into the civil government and institutions of the island, of which I had received very contradictory accounts, I requested the commercial agent to introduce me to a *letrado;* we passed through several clean but narrow streets, the houses two and three stories high, with flat roofs, and latticed windows without glass, the shops neatly set off with French and English goods, and the lazy shopkeepers, with their coats off, sitting on chairs in the street, under the shade of the houses; and still lazier house-keepers swinging in hammocks suspended in the passage of their house, gazing listlessly at the passengers, and drawling away their existence. I found the man of the law wrapped in a loose morning gown, and swinging in a cotton hammock hung within a foot of the floor, with a client sitting by his side. He flung

himself out of the hammock on perceiving us enter the room, and received us with great courtesy. He listened to my questions with exemplary patience, and answered them promptly and satisfactorily. Frequently, however, in his turn asking, "But why do you want to know that?" Nor could he comprehend that curiosity alone prompted my enquiries. He gave me a very particular account of the practical operation of the constitutional government, which has been attended with very beneficial consequences; but as that constitution has passed away, it is unnecessary to dwell upon them.

By a census made about a year ago, the whole population of the island is stated to be two hundred and twenty-five thousand souls, of which twenty-five thousand, or thereabouts, are slaves. The greater part of the free inhabitants are coloured persons—the whites and free negroes bearing but a small proportion to the whole. Within a few years past the emigration from Europe has been very great, amounting it is said to between six and eight thousand persons. The inhabitants are divided into two classes—the nobles and the people. All the whites may be considered as forming part of the nobility; as custom extends to them an exemption from serving in the militia, and some other privileges that by law belong only to the *noblesse*. The laws know no difference between the white *roturier* and the coloured man; and this circumstance, as well as the Spaniard's being in the habit of mixing with the people of colour without

those prejudices so common in the other West India colonies, prevents any jealousy or bad feeling towards him on their part, and forms a great security against the slave population and their neighbours of San Domingo. The city of San Juan contains somewhere about twenty thousand inhabitants.

The island produces cattle, sugar, rum, coffee, tobacco, rice, and corn. The principal exports are coffee, sugar, cattle, and small quantities of cotton and tobacco; the latter article is more highly esteemed by the Dutch and Germans than that of Cuba, and always commands the highest price in their markets. Previous to the Peninsular war, this island received a subsidy from Mexico of three hundred and seventy-seven thousand dollars for the support of government, the pay of the army and navy, and the repairs of fortifications. These expenses are defrayed by the customs; and under a good administration, there is no doubt they would be always more than sufficient for these purposes.

The custom-house now pays into the treasury about four hundred thousand dollars annually; but persons have offered to farm the customs from government, and to give double that sum. The numerous ports along the coast, and the corrupt administration of the custom-house, render smuggling very common. The duties on exports are five per cent. and on imports from thirteen to five-and-twenty per cent.

The authorities of the island have received information that an expedition was about to sail

from New York for the purpose of revolutionizing the island, and are prepared to defeat the project, whatever it may be. It is much to be lamented, that these expeditions could not always be arrested where they are fitted out. The object is so palpably plunder—for the pretended motive, the love of liberty, is too puerile to gain credit with the most credulous; and they involve so many innocent men in ruin and misery, and are so dishonourable to our country, that we ought to exercise a more vigilant police, and if possible prevent adventurers from disgracing us.

The rumour of an intended insurrection is confirmed. Sixty negroes, part free and part slaves, have been brought from the west side of the island, and are to be tried by a court martial. In the course of my walk this morning, I saw several companies of the garrison on parade. They were of all colours, from the fairest European to the blackest son of Africa.

Dined with the American commercial agent, where I met the Marquis del Norte, a very intelligent and accomplished gentleman, from whom I have derived a great deal of information.

The young officers have this instant returned from a ball, delighted with the charming faces, delicate figures, and graceful movements of the Creole ladies. Those I saw in the streets had good persons, and delicate and well-formed features, but very sallow complexions.

29th.—Set out this morning to make an excursion into the country. We crossed the bay in a small sail-boat, and on landing, found horses

waiting for us. For saddles, they were furnished with straw pads, with baskets suspended on both sides, intended to support the legs. I found the seat not very commodious or secure, but the horse was quiet, and our feet and legs were elevated above being splashed. The road was a continued quagmire, and our horses frequently plunged up to the saddle-girths.

The road, for about a mile from the shore, passes along a narrow valley, the hills on each side being steep and wooded to the summit. It then winds gradually up a chain of hills, passing near two large plantations with extensive buildings, dwelling-houses, chapels, sugar mills, and store-houses. The summit of the ridge commands a view of a charming and highly cultivated plain, clothed with the richest verdure, and with the most luxuriant vegetation. Lofty cocoa and date-palms, and plantations of coffee trees and bananas, cover the rising grounds, which skirt a plain cultivated in fields of Indian corn, sugar, and cassava, and spotted with neat farm houses. A short ride from this enchanting spot brought us to the habitation of a French gentleman, who received us with great urbanity and politeness. The house is large, and although it consists of only one floor, is commodious, and looked cool and clean. In front is a small garden, neatly laid out, exhibiting a great variety of flowers, and exhaling a profusion of sweets. We were introduced to a German Baron and to his lady, a fair Parisian; the latter, happy to meet with any one who had been in Paris, and who

could understand her, overwhelmed me with her regrets and comparisons between the dull life of an Islander and the delightful life of Paris. Then for European news—she made Lord Castlereagh cut his throat, because he had failed in a motion in the House of Commons to recognize the republican government of Hayti, and greatly rejoiced both in the failure and its consequences.

After passing an hour very pleasantly, we set forth on our return. In the course of our ride, I had bought hogs, turkeys, and ducks; for they were not to be found in market, and our conductor contrived to cram some into the baskets, and to sling the rest before his pack saddle: so that, on our march, we were accompanied by such a noise, that the folks ran out of their huts to look at us. If they were surprised at our appearance, I was equally so to see such crowds of men, women, and children issuing from habitations so small. The gable-end of every cottage projects about ten feet, with a rude portico, where they must sleep, for the interior cannot contain them all.

In the course of this ride, I met two whites only, but a great many people of different shades of colour. We reached the ship time enough for a late dinner, and all my hogs, turkeys and ducks arrived in safety, to the great consolation of the mess. The market is so badly provided, that we expected to be under the necessity of going to sea without fresh provisions. Limes, oranges, bananas, and other fruits, are abundant and cheap, and we laid in a good store of them.

CHAPTER II.

Voyage from Puerto Rico to Vera Cruz—Jamaica—Island of Cayman—The Peak of Orizaba—Arrival at Vera Cruz—Description of that Port.

30th.—FAREWELL to Puerto Rico! After breakfast, orders were given to unmoor. At ten, to my great joy, the pilot came on board, and we soon got under way and stood out to sea, with the wind at east north east. We passed rapidly along the land, and at sunset could distinctly see the western extremity of the island, having run down in six hours to where we had been three days in beating up from.

October 1st.—I turned out at one in the morning to see the island of Zacheo. It was moonlight, and we passed near enough to see that it was small, craggy and barren. At daylight we saw the island of Mona, and shortly after a sail from the mast head; we made sail in chase, and soon found that the stranger was bearing down towards us. Most luckily it proved to be the United States' brig of war Spark, and my fellow-passengers agreed at once to go in it to Laguira. This arrangement will shorten my passage to Vera Cruz by at least ten days. By twelve the baggage was all transported to the brig, and I

accompanied my friends on board. I was agreeably surprised to find such comfortable and roomy accommodations on board so small a vessel. I took leave with regret of gentlemen who had been uniformly cheerful and entertaining companions, and who had lightened the tedium of a long voyage by their amiable manners and intelligent conversation. One of them was very sea sick, from the short, quick motion of the smaller vessel. We returned on board about two, and made sail to the west.

2d.—The wind still favours us, and we are running along the coast of San Domingo very fast. The weather is cool and pleasant. I have observed that where the trade winds prevail the heat is not oppressive, and rarely exceeds 80° of Fahrenheit.

3d.—Early in the morning we were awakened by the cry of land a-head. It proved to be the islands of Beata Altavela, and we soon after saw the highlands of San Domingo, back of them. About noon we came up with an American brig from Boston, bound to Aux Cayes, and procured some newspapers as late as the fourth of September.

4th.—San Domingo in sight all day. The land is high and broken, and the interior of the island mountainous.

Spoke a brig from Liverpool bound to Mobile, and procured papers from London to the 13th of August. Judge of my surprise when I read a circumstantial account of the death of the Mar-

quis of Londonderry. So the tale I laughed at in Puerto Rico is partly true.

6th.—The highlands of the island of Jamaica in sight all day, and the wind fair and fresh; it is delightful sailing; even a landsman would not object to be at sea on such a day. It is Sunday; a day of rest to the sailors. They are all clean and healthy, and look cheerful. A fair wind and swift sailing cheer all on board a ship. The sailors exult in them, although it would seem to be a matter of indifference to men who expect to be at sea for the whole term of their enlistment, whether the ship lay like a log on the water, or advanced ten miles an hour. We lost sight of the island of Jamaica about sunset; and a little before, spoke a small sloop of about ten tons, navigated by two mulattoes, bound from Montego Bay to St. Jago de Cuba.

7th and 8th.—A light wind yesterday and to-day. At noon saw the islands of Cayman. There is a good ship channel between them, and the inhabitants have placed their huts opposite this passage. They are all fishermen, and supply ships with fish and turtle, exchanging them pound for pound, for beef and pork—a very profitable bargain for them, and not a losing one for the ship's crew. The same quantity of turtle in weight as their daily rations of beef, will furnish an abundant mess, and for a few days must make a wholesome change in their diet. We passed close to the Cayman beach, but did not heave to. It was not thought necessary, as our crew were remarkably healthy.

9th, 10th and 11th.—Calm, and the atmosphere, although unclouded, is close, damp and sultry. A little before sunset we saw the islands called the Jardines and Jardinillas. Now that we are near the land, I begin to hope we shall experience the land and sea breezes, and be refreshed by a thunder storm occasionally. The calm sultry weather of the last four days is insufferable.

12th and 13th.—Yesterday we saw the Isle of Pines, and in the evening were off Cape Corrientes. This is a delightful day. Sunday, with all its sober enjoyment—a brisk and fair wind driving our ship eight knots an hour, and the air cool and refreshing. In the evening we sounded in seventeen fathoms off Cape Catoche.

14th.—The trade wind, although moderate in these latitudes, blows regularly, and we are still running before it. A strong current sets towards the west from the Cape de Verds along the coast of the Spanish Main, then ascends and passes round Cape Catoche. It is felt, although not so strongly, all along the coast of the Gulph of Mexico, until it joins the current that sets along the south coast of Cuba and round Cape Antonio. At noon we described two brigs, with their courses hauled up, waiting to reconnoitre us—as soon as they made us out to be a ship of war, they made sail from us, and we gave chase to the one that stood on our course. At sunset we came up with it, and found it to be an armed packet from Cadiz bound to Vera Cruz, having on board

General Lemour, who was going to take command of the fortress of San Juan de Uloa.

18th.—On the evening of the 17th we struck soundings in sixty fathoms water: and on the 18th, as the sun rose, we saw the land, and a magnificent sight it was. The outline of the rugged mountains that skirt the Orizaba was clear and distinctly defined; and the clouds, that hovered round their base and obscured the lowlands near the coast, were in motion and rising gradually. The summit of Orizaba, a regular cone, covered with snow, towered high above the loftiest mountains. We continued to gaze with delight on this view until ten o'clock, when the whole was enveloped by the clouds, which rose and uncovered to our view the lowlands. They are undulating, finely diversified with hill and dale, and rivers and forests, and rich in the deep verdure and luxuriant vegetation of the tropics.

We approached within a few miles of the harbour, fired a gun and hove to for a pilot; after waiting some time in vain, our boat was despatched with an officer to procure one. The boat was hailed and brought to by the guard at the castle, and after some detention, the officer was informed that he could not be permitted to go the city, but would be furnished with a pilot to bring the ship into port. The officer insisted and remonstrated, but the governor of the castle was inflexible, and he returned on board extremely indignant at what he considered uncourteous treatment.

The wind was favourable, and we entered the harbour a little before sunset. It is very easy of access. Our commander first visited the castle, where he was politely received by the governor, who apologized for what had passed by saying that he did not know whether we were friends or enemies; that they were aware a corvette ship had been purchased by an agent of the Imperial Government, and thought it possible that ours might be that ship, and the officer and boat's crew imperialists in disguise. He readily granted us permission to communicate with the city.

It is a strange state of things. The city in the power of the new government, and the castle in that of the old. When Vera Cruz was taken about eighteen months ago by the independents, the royalists retired to the castle of San Juan de Uloa, where they command the entrance of the port, and whence they can batter down the city at any moment. It is a strong fortress, garrisoned with six hundred men, mounted with more than one hundred pieces of heavy artillery, and furnished with provisions and munitions of war sufficient to maintain a long siege. A constant intercourse is kept up between the city and the castle in the day time, and at night they watch each other with jealous vigilance. The governor of the castle permits the entrance of merchant vessels, but exacts a duty of eight per cent. on the invoice prices of the cargo. The captain of our ship went on shore to wait on the commandant of the place, and I contented myself on board, making preparations for an early departure on the next day. He returned

in the evening delighted with the reception he had met with from Santa Ana, the military chief, and brought with him two American gentlemen who are here on business, and who have but lately returned from the capital. What difficulties, perils, and privations, they have suffered, encountered, and overcome! Nothing to eat but *tasajo*, dried beef—nothing to drink but *pulque*, the fermented juice of the *agave*. Inns destitute of all accommodation, and execrably dirty—coaches, great lumbering break-down machines, dragged by ten mules—robbers at every mountain pass, and frequently to be heard whistling and shouting, to the great dismay of the traveller. The whole evening I listened seriously to a long catalogue of miseries and dangers which I am doomed to encounter, for I have advanced too far to be frightened from my purpose by these terrible relations.

19th.—In the morning we landed at the mole amidst a crowd of idle spectators, and after entering the gates, for the city is partially fortified, we walked along a clean, well paved street, and on side walks of madrepore, to the square, which is flanked on one side by the town house, on another by a church, and on the third by a row of shops, under stone arcades; the fourth is open. A few doors from this square brought us to the house of the American Vice Consul, who received us politely and kindly. Bred to the law, and a merchant, I found this Creole very intelligent and communicative. He readily undertook to procure me a conveyance to Jalapa, and promised that I should set out without delay.

I was very much pleased with his house, which, like all those I saw, is well adapted for a warm climate. Thick stone walls exclude the heat, and the court yards, (for each house is a hollow square) are constantly shaded, and give an air of coolness to the interior. The apartments are large, with lofty ceilings and communicating doors; all the houses are two stories high, with flat terrace roofs.

This gentleman's account of the state of commerce is deplorable. On entering the harbour of Vera Cruz, a cargo of merchandize pays eight per cent. on the invoice to the castle. At the custom-house in the city a high duty is exacted, according to a tariff adopted by the new Government. In this tariff a certain duty is charged on specific articles, but as it was drawn up in haste, and without a sufficient knowledge of the subject, the goods are badly classed; and no distinction made between coarse and fine goods of the same description. It is made the duty of an officer to see that the goods correspond with the statement given in by the merchant, and to set a value on such articles as pay an ad valorem duty. If the goods are conveyed to the capital, they are charged with a further duty, or alcabala, of twelve and a half per cent. ad valorem. The returns, which are in specie, are burthened with an export duty, and are brought to the sea coast at considerable risk, both from the banditti that infest the roads, and from the rapacity of government. A small convoy of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, was lately stopped and plun-

dered by robbers, who murdered the whole escort: and a very large sum, nearly three millions of dollars, is now detained in the Castle of Perote, by order of the emperor, and will, probably, be confiscated to the use of government.

From the consul's we proceeded to wait upon the governor, Santa Ana, a young man, who, at the head of the desultory forces of the country, succeeded in driving the Royalists out of the city. The first attempt to enter the place was made on a stormy night, when the ammunition of the assailants was wet by the rain, and they were repulsed. On the second attack the royalists abandoned the city after a feeble resistance, and retired to the castle.

Santa Ana is a man of about thirty years of age, of middle stature, slightly yet well made, and possessing a very intelligent and expressive countenance, but evidently suffering from fatigue and the effects of a bad climate. He was surrounded with officers decorated, as well as himself, with the insignia of the new imperial orders. Our reception was polite and cordial, and when we rose to go he insisted upon our returning to dine with him. A ceremonious Spanish dinner is of all things the most odious to me, and I endeavoured to excuse myself, on the ground of my extreme haste to set out. He assured me it would be impossible to begin my journey until late in the afternoon, as the escort could not be ready before, and I was forced to submit both to the delay and to the annoyance of being escorted, against which I remonstrated in vain. All parties

unite in representing the roads to be insecure; so we shall travel with all the dignity of danger. I confess, however, that I am much more afraid of the climate: not only are black vomit and bilious fevers undignified dangers, but I would rather fall into the hands of banditti than into those of a Mexican physician.

From the governor's we lounged about the town. It is compactly and very well built, and so extremely neat and clean, that from an examination of the interior only of Vera Cruz, it would be difficult to account for the causes of the pestilential diseases for which it is unfortunately celebrated.

The city is surrounded by sand hills, and ponds of stagnant water, which, within the tropics, is cause sufficient to originate the black vomit and bilious fever. The inhabitants, and those accustomed to the climate, are not subject to the former disease; but all strangers, even those from Havanna and the West India Islands, are liable to this infection. No precautions can prevent strangers from this fatal disorder, and many have died in Jalapa who only passed through this city.

Humboldt mentions instances of persons who left the ship immediately on their arrival, stept out of the boat that conveyed them on shore, into a litter, and were carried rapidly to Jalapa, having been attacked by yellow fever, and having died with black vomit. The Spanish physicians regard this as the place where this disorder originated, and pretend to trace the yellow fever

of Havanna, of the West India Islands, the United States and Spain, to Vera Cruz. Notwithstanding the cleanly appearance of the streets, I observed buzzards, and other species of vulture, hovering over the town, and perched on the house tops; a sure indication of corruption and animal putrefaction.

The weather is so extremely sultry that we apprehend a gale of wind from the north. A *norther* is so much dreaded by those who navigate these seas, that Humboldt says—"Les époques auxquelles regnent à la Vera Cruz le vomisement noir et les tempêtes du Nord ne coincident pas. Par conséquent et l'Européan qui arrive au Mexique, et le Mexicain du haut plateau que ses affaires forcent de s'embarquer ont tous deux à choisir entre le danger de la navigation et celui d'une maladie mortelle."

The port of Vera Cruz is very insecure. It is not only open to this wind, but the holding ground is so very bad, that no vessel is considered secure, unless made fast to rings fixed for the purpose in the castle wall. There was a large party of officers assembled to meet us at dinner, and we were marshalled in form, and as is usual in these countries, were seated at the head of the table, the governor sitting next at the side of it. The dinner consisted of a great profusion of dishes, served up in long and tedious succession. We were glad when the signal was made to leave the table, and we adjourned to look at a portrait of Iturbide in the town hall. I am very anxious to see a man of whom I hear so much. From

this daub I can form no idea of his physiognomy—from his actions he must be an extraordinary man; but from the part he took before the late successful revolution, and from his sudden elevation to the throne, I fear he is extraordinarily bad.

We next ascended to the *azotea*, (terrace roof) from whence we had a view of the harbour. While the rest of the company were amusing themselves with spying at the ladies on other azoteas and in the towers, many of which rise from the houses to give a more commanding prospect of the ocean, the governor took me aside to talk of his plans for taking the castle. He proposes to blockade it by water, to construct a battery on each extremity of the harbour to prevent the entrance of shipping, and to have I don't know how many mortars arranged behind the city, to shower shells into the castle. The mortar batteries will be protected by the houses of the city, which being for the most part owned by European Spaniards, he supposes will not be fired upon by the castle. I avoided giving an opinion, because I am sure this plan of attack cannot succeed. The castle is very strong; the entrance of the harbour cannot be blockaded in winter, on account of the sudden, frequent, and tremendous northerly gales of wind; the batteries may be destroyed at the pleasure of the commandant of the castle, and it is not probable that he would carry his respect for the property of his countrymen, so far as to sacrifice it to the safety of the post committed to his charge.

CHAPTER III.

Departure from Vera Cruz—Village of Santa Fè—River Antigua—Puente del Rey—Plan del Rio—Jalapa.

A LITTLE before sunset I was informed that all was ready for my departure, and descended into the court yard, where I found an escort of six dragoons, well mounted, a bat mule loaded with my baggage, and a carriage not unlike a French cabriolet, drawn by three mules, and conducted by a postilion. This vehicle is called a *volante*. The chaise is suspended by twisted leather thongs, and has altogether a ruinous, break-down appearance.

We took leave of the governor, shook hands heartily with the officers of the ship, to whom I feel cordially attached, and set off at a gallop. This pace lasted only until we cleared the gates; it was then sobered to a trot, shortly after to a walk, and at the end of four miles we stood still.

The road passes over deep sands, and our cattle now refused to pull up a moderate hill. By dint of shouting, whipping and pushing, we urged them to the summit, and arrived without further incident at Santa Fè, a collection of huts

about three leagues from Vera Cruz, where the sand hills terminate. In a direct line from the coast, the level sandy country does not extend more than three miles; but the road to Jalapa runs along the coast in a southerly direction as far as Santa Fè, and then gradually inclines to the west: we had been two hours and a half on the road. Here we changed our weary mules, and here we were to have changed our escort, but after waiting some time, we received an apology from the commandant of the post for the delay, which was unavoidable, as the horses were all at pasture. We were not in a humour to wait two or three hours, so after a consultation with our driver about the state of the road, we resolved to proceed to the next station, and examining our arms we again set off. We could not see distinctly, but the country appeared barren, with only a scanty growth of mimosas. The dew fell like rain, and our hats and coats were wet by it, although we were under cover. The roads were so rough, that there was no danger of going to sleep, which I consider it prejudicial to do, when exposed to the night air of this pestilential climate. Not so my servant, or he had not resolution to withstand the inclination, and fell asleep on horseback. The animal he rode, as soon as it missed the wonted spurring and whipping stood still. We reached the Passo de Oveja at four o'clock in the morning, and after waiting some time, despatched a man to see what had become of him. They returned together at sunrise, and relieved us from some anxiety on his account, as

the driver expressed great fears for his safety. In the meantime we had thrown ourselves on benches under a shed, and slept soundly, in spite of our fears, the hardness of our couch, and the swarms of musquitoes that feasted on us.

20th.—Our muleteers began their preparations for our departure at sunrise, and proceeded with characteristic slowness to feed their mules, and to arrange the packs and the carriage, so that we were not ready to set out until eight o'clock. This delay gave us time to go into a shop and drink our chocolate, and to examine the *hacienda* farm of Passo de Oveja, which is a large sugar estate. The principal building is of stone, and is only half finished. It was commenced on a very extensive plan before the revolution, and suspended by that event.

This ruin is surrounded by the huts of the peasantry, and by temporary wooden buildings for the machinery and store houses. The land appeared to be very rich and productive, and had been cultivated in Indian corn, beans and sugar cane.

Just as we were setting off, an officer with some soldiers, who had been scampering after us all night, arrived. We insisted upon his stopping to refresh himself and his men, and agreed to wait for him at the Plan del Rio, the station where we proposed to dine. For two hours we were jolted over, not a road but a bed of rocks, having on each side a wretched barren tract of country, overgrown with low mimosas. At the distance of two leagues from Passo de Oveja, the

road winds down a steep hill to the banks of the river Antigua, which it passes on an extensive and well constructed causeway, and over a magnificent bridge with stone arches, formerly called Puente del Rey, now the Puente Imperial. This bridge is constructed immediately below the junction of the two fine streams, which fall with great rapidity, and broken water, over the rocks, and are separated by a lofty and abrupt headland. We stopped to enjoy this view, the first we had seen since we landed, that possessed any picturesque beauty.

The banks of the river are precipitous and rocky, but ornamented with a profusion of flowering shrubs, that rise up through the fissures in the rocks. The promontory, at the junctions of these rivers, was once occupied by the forces under the command of Gaudalupe Victoria. It is a very bad military position, easily cut off from wood, water, and supplies, and he was forced to abandon it on the approach of the royalists. In front of the bridge and on each side of the road, stands a village of small huts, for they do not deserve the name of cottages. These habitations are constructed by driving small stakes into the ground, as near together as practicable, leaving them eight feet high. They are bound together by two slips of cane or laths placed horizontally, one about four feet from the ground, the other at the top, directly under the roof. The construction of this part of the building defies all description. The frame is bound together with long bamboos and canes, and small sticks: and the shape it

assumes depends upon the length and quality of the materials. They contrive to give it a high pitch, and thatch it with palm leaves, which turn off water in a very remarkable manner. I have often, when in Chili, seen the light glimmering through a thatch of palm leaves, while the rain was falling in torrents, and never observed the smallest leak in the roof.

It was Sunday, and as we passed the village we saw the inhabitants, coarsely but neatly clad in white dresses, seated in the areas before the doors of their houses, which are swept with great care, and shaded by a treillage covered with vines. At a little distance from the road there stands a church, constructed in the same simple manner as the huts in the village, and in front of it, under a large mimosa, were assembled a number of old men, conversing together. The whole presented a pleasing scene, and we got out of our volante and lingered some time to enjoy it.

On leaving this village we found ourselves upon a well constructed artificial road covered with a strong lime cement, which is still in perfect preservation where the country is level. The road, which has been made with great labour and expence, is not judiciously laid out. It passes over hills that it ought to have wound round, and wherever there is an elevation, the angle is so great that even the firm cover of cement is washed off in places, and the road rendered almost impassable and worn into deep gullies by the heavy rains that fall here during the summer, and flow down the hill sides like torrents.

The view on both sides of the road was obstructed by thick woods of mimosas, bearing, besides their own flowers, an infinite variety of parasite plants of various and brilliant colours, and entwined by different kinds of convolvulus and other climbing vines, all in flower. At one o'clock we reached the Plan del Rio, a large village, where I am now writing while my companions are sleeping the siesta.

At the entrance of this village, which is composed of huts similar to those of Puente del Rey, we passed a paved causeway and a fine bridge, with arches of hewn stone, thrown over a broad and rapid, but very shallow stream, and we halted to view the rich luxuriant vegetation on the banks of the river, which are broken and precipitous. We drove up to the largest cottage in the village, and were received kindly by a clean tidy Mestizo woman, who promised to prepare a dinner for us in a moment. In this hut there are three apartments, one for cooking and two for eating and sleeping in, as I presume, by their being provided with cane hurdles spread on posts driven into the earth floor, and a deal table and bench.

To see all the economy of the household, I followed the woman into the kitchen and looked on while she prepared our repast. The fireplace consisted of a cane hurdle supported by four posts, and covered with a coating of clay; on this a charcoal fire was kindled, and the dinner dressed in pots and pans of baked clay, which resist the action of fire wonderfully well. She

quickly warmed a fowl we had brought with us, and served it up with a sauce piquante, made of tomatoes and Chili pepper. I was interrupted by a traveller who is on his road from the capital to Vera Cruz. He has been relating to me the tyrannical conduct of the emperor, who, according to his account, is as thorough a despot as if he had inherited the crown and had a legitimate right to oppress his subjects. On his leaving us to proceed on his journey, the young lieutenant, who had overtaken us here, told me with an air of mystery, that he believed all that had been said about Iturbide to be true, and that the dissatisfaction was general in the province of Vera Cruz. He said, that Guadalupe Victoria, the celebrated revolutionary leader, was concealed in the mountains, not far from where we now are, having been compelled to fly from Mexico, in order to save himself from the persecutions of the usurper. He assured me that most of the officers in his regiment were republicans, and were restrained from declaring themselves against the emperor, only by their colonel, Santa Ana, who possesses great influence over the troops.

The people here wear the same appearance of cleanliness and contentment, that I remarked in the inhabitants of the village of Puente del Rey. So far I have seen no beggars nor any indication of want. The people are of every shade of colour between white and black, but I have seen very few of the former since I left Vera Cruz, and none of the latter.

We got into the volante at five o'clock, and

passed for two hours through a hilly and barren country. Before we left Plan del Rio, the gathering clouds announced a storm, and at nightfall it burst upon us with furious wind and rain, accompanied by such utter darkness, that our muleteers lost their road, and were completely bewildered. They dismounted, and after groping about for some time, returned and plunged the frail vehicle over a deep gulley into the high road. This jolt proved too much for the thongs on which the carriage was suspended; they broke, and down we came: when I had succeeded in pacifying the muleteers, who laid the blame on each other, and were disposed to decide the dispute on the spot, we soon repaired the thongs and replaced the carriage.

Again we set out, and again we lost the road. The muleteers were now really alarmed, and from swearing fell to praying, and wanted to stop. This I would not permit, and after some time we found the road, and plunged on to the village of Encero, where we arrived at ten o'clock, having travelled not quite six leagues from Plan del Rio. We stopped at the first hut, and were welcomed by the good dame of the house, who rose and admitted us with great kindness into the only room in the mansion. While the baggage was taking off, I surveyed the apartment. On one side lay a traveller stretched on a hurdle of canes; on the other, a child was sleeping on the floor. The bed of our hostess occupied the side opposite the door. This she insisted that we should take possession of; and after examining our mattrasses

and finding them soaked, we were fain to accept her offer.

The laths that surrounded the bed, and supported a tattered curtain to screen the lady from the view of her guests, and from the wind that entered through the chinks and crevices innumerable, served at the same time to hang tasajo on. *Tasajo* is beef cut into long strips and dried in the sun; while it is curing it must not be exposed either to rain or dew, and it is always put under cover at night. The bedstead and all the rafters were festooned with it.

21st.—We supped on our cold provisions, and stretched ourselves on the landlady's bed, which did not prove a bed of rest. It consisted only of canes laid lengthways, and covered with a blanket. This, and even the smell of raw meat, might have been endured, but we were visited by such swarms of fleas, sancudos, and musquitoes, that we were rejoiced when we saw the light of day beaming through the cane enclosure that constituted the walls of the hut. It is impossible, without experience, to form an idea of the torments of the crawling, skipping and flying insects of this country. Bugs, and worse than bugs, fleas, sancudos and musquitoes at night, and gnats and xixens in the day. The xixen (pronounced hihen,) is a very small winged insect that draws blood from the face or hands the instant it alights on them. This it does so dexterously, that the first notice you have of the puncture is a small pustule of blood, which remains visible for some days, and the part becomes inflamed and painful.

While our chocolate was preparing, we walked to the venta or inn of Encero. It is a large building, and may have been a commodious inn, but in the revolutionary war it was converted into a fortress by the patriots, and appears to have sustained a siege, for it is all in ruins. From its walls, there is a fine view of the snowy mountain of Orizaba. At eight o'clock we set out, and for an hour and a half travelled over the roughest of roads, and up a continued ascent. In front we had a view of the Coffre of Perote, a bold craggy mountain, terminated at the summit by a bare rock, in form somewhat resembling a chest, *coffre*, and on our left the Orizaba, a regular cone of dazzling white, rising high above the dark hills that skirt its base. The Coffre is seven thousand seven hundred and nineteen feet above the level of the sea.

The south wind blew with great violence, and we were soon obliged to put on our great coats; and notwithstanding the rain of the night before, we were much incommoded by dust. After ascending for two hours we found ourselves on a paved road, and passing through a fertile country, cultivated principally in Indian corn, which rivalled in height and size that of Kentucky and Indiana, we soon after came in sight of the town of Jalapa, beautifully situated, with its white walls and towers finely contrasted with the deep verdure of the adjacent hills, and brought into a strong light by the lofty, dark, and rugged mountains back of it. We enjoyed this view for some time, and entered the town by the street of the "Pure

Blood of Christ." To our protestant ears these names sound very profanely. Not so in catholic countries.

We drove to the principal inn near the market place, but when we examined the apartments that were vacant, we found them so extremely small, dirty and badly ventilated, that we left it and sought other lodgings. After two or three ineffectual applications, we settled ourselves at the *Sociedad Grande*, where rooms only are let to travellers, who must seek their *provant* elsewhere. We were conducted to this house by an officer sent by the captain general to shew us his quarters. The exterior promised very well, but the rooms were so dirty, that the man who cleaned them out for us used a shovel, before he plied his broom. By dint of bribing we procured two chairs and a table, and borrowed two camp stretchers at the next posada. Having provided ourselves with these luxuries and made a hasty toilet, we set forth to visit the captain general, Eschavarri. I was much pleased with the manner of our reception. It was frank and cordial, without any of the unmeaning professions so generally used by the Spaniards. When we were about to take leave, he told us that although his table was not that of an epicure, we would find it better than the fare of our posada, and begged us to stay and dine with him. We accepted his hospitality as freely as it was offered. He was lodged opposite to the convent of San Francisco, built by Cortes, with all the strength and solidity of a fortress, as are most of the churches and con-

vents which were constructed at that period-- we walked over to the convent, where we remained until called to dinner, enjoying the view so faithfully described by Baron Humboldt.

" From the convent of San Francisco we enjoy a view of the collossal summits of the Coffre of Perote, and pic d'Orizaba, of the declivity of the Cordillera towards Encero, of the river L'Antigua, and even of the ocean."

In speaking of the environs of this town, he says—" The thick forests of Styrax, Piper, Melastomata, and ferns, lofty as trees, especially those which are on the road from Paiha, San Andres, the banks of the small lake of Los Barrios, and the heights leading to the village of Huastepec, offer the most delightful promenades."

Jalapa is situated at the foot of the basaltic mountain of Macultepec. The hills in its vicinity are bold and picturesque: the valley is of the deepest verdure, and we could distinguish the arborescent ferns in the low shady grounds, rising to the height of palm trees; and the view embraced the Coffre of Perote, the Cordillera that shut in the valley, and the peak of Orizaba, that beautiful and lofty cone, covered with perpetual snow of resplendent whiteness.

At table we found a numerous staff, for Eschavarri is captain general of the province of Puebla, Oaxaca, and Vera Cruz. There were likewise present two Americans attached to the general's suite, one as a physician, and the other a soi-disant engineer. I wish most heartily that our countrymen were not quite so adventurous, or that they would qualify

themselves to fill the stations they aspire to in other countries before they leave their own. They certainly possess a facility beyond all other people of turning their hands to any thing; but they ought to be aware, that there are sciences which do require some previous education and knowledge, to enable them to understand and to practice them. After dinner we walked over the town, which is neither so clean nor so well built as Vera Cruz, but the situation is enchanting, and we enjoyed the beauties with more satisfaction from the certainty of being in a healthy region.

All the country below Encero is extremely sickly. There we saw the first oaks—and the whole face of nature changed a few miles before we reached Jalapa.

With some difficulty I have hired a litter and mules for our journey to-morrow; not because they are scarce or difficult to be procured, but the rapidity of my movements astonishes the lazy Creoles: it would surely be the same to me if they were ready in three or four days—it would be impossible to get them from their pastures sooner—the muleteers could not be persuaded to set out at such a short notice, &c. &c. A threat to purchase mules for the expedition vanquished these impossibilities, and the "*arriero*," mule owner, promised to have all in readiness by ten o'clock to-morrow. Having settled this important concern, we returned in the evening to the captain general's, where we were entertained by an excellent band of martial music. There was a numerous assemblage of ladies at the windows of the neighbouring

houses, and the band was surrounded by people of every description. The whole scene was illuminated by torches, and the effect was singularly striking, from the various costumes and strong contrasts of colour in the spectators. The inhabitants of Vera Cruz resort to this place in the summer, to shun the heat, the insects, and the diseases of the low country; and at present almost all the females of Vera Cruz are here, to avoid the dangers that may attend the siege of the castle. Society is represented to be on a good footing in Jalapa, and the inhabitants are remarked for their great courtesy and hospitality to strangers. One of the officers invited us to go to a *tertulia*, to which we readily assented. We were conducted to a house where we found a few ladies assembled, who played on the guitar and sang agreeably. I was surprised to see no gentlemen in the room, but was not kept long in suspense as to the reason of this division in the party. After a whispering conversation between the officer and the lady of the house, she ordered a servant to shew us into another apartment. We were conducted with some mystery through a court yard, and up a narrow passage into a small card-room, that looked like a cavern, where we found a numerous assembly of men gambling deeply, at a game called *monte*. As you know I never touch a card, I cannot describe the manner in which a great deal of money was won and lost. There is no exhibition of the human passions that disgusts me so thoroughly, and I very soon retired to scribble my journal.

22.—We walked to the neighbouring posada to breakfast. A number of persons were seated at separate tables, not sullenly silent, as at an English coffee-house, but talking to each other loudly and cheerfully. We soon had an ample breakfast set before us, consisting of roast lamb, an *agisado*, a stew after the fashion of the country, of a fowl with onions, tomatoes, and chile; and to this substantial fare was added a bottle of Catalonian wine, which to my taste is the most abominable of wines, it is sweet, and astringent, and mawkish.

I was amused with the free and easy manners of the servants of the inn. One of them, not being able to reach to the opposite side of the table, knelt on the bench close to where I was seated, and gathered up the table cloth, (which from its appearance is changed semi-annually,) whistling a lively air, as loud as he could, all the time.

CHAPTER IV.

Travelling Equipage—Departure from Jalapa—La Hoya—Las Vigas—Coffre de Perote—Town and Castle of Perote—Tepe Agualco—Ojo de Agua—Nopaluco—Pass of the Pinal—Puebla.

When we returned to our quarters, we found the mules and the litter at our door. A *littera* is a case six feet long and three wide, with three upright poles fixed on each side, to support a top and curtains of cotton cloth. The case is carried by means of long poles passing through leather straps, which are suspended from the saddle of the mules in the same manner as a sedan chair is borne by porters. A mattrass is spread at the bottom of the case, on which the traveller reclines. It is a very luxurious method of passing mountains, unless the mules prove unruly, for then the litter is tossed about in a strange manner, as I experienced more than once to-day.

While the muleteers were packing our baggage, I cautioned them not to touch the fire arms, and had them placed apart; but had scarcely turned to go into the house in order to pay the landlord, when I heard the report of a pistol. One of them had taken up a pistol, which was loaded with ball and buck shot, to show it to his companion. He swears it went off of its own accord, or was fired

by the devil. I suppose the latter must be true, for the lock is good. A great crowd had assembled to witness our departure, and it is surprising that only one man was wounded. The ball fractured his leg below the knee; and one of the mules was disabled by a buck shot. After seeing the wounded man properly attended to, and taken care of, we set out, and at eleven o'clock began to ascend the hill above Jalapa. I suppose you know that the nauseous medicinal plant, jalap, takes its name from this town. It is not found in its immediate vicinity, but grows somewhere in the district. Jalapa is four thousand two hundred and sixty-four feet above the level of the sea.

At one, we reached a small village called La Cruz de la Cuesta, having passed so far through a fine country. Here we changed mules; not that there are relays of horses or mules on the road; but we drive along with us two spare mules for the litter, which is very heavy. From this place to the village of Hoja, the ascent is exceedingly steep, and the view most beautiful; so diversified, luxuriant, and romantic, that I shall exhaust all my picturesque phrases, and then fail to give you an idea of the beauties of the valley below us, cultivated in all the tropical fruits, and studded with a number of small conical hills, wooded to their summits. On the opposite side, the valley is shut in by a lofty and perpendicular wall of bare rock, from the edge of which, and along the summit, extends a vast plain, cultivated in wheat and barley, and all the fruits of Europe. On the plain, and near the edge of the mountain,

stands the town of Maulinjo, with its white walls and spires glittering in the sun—and the river that flows along the plain at the summit passes near the town, and falls dashing and sparkling over the precipice into the valley beneath. The whole is seen distinctly, but is sufficiently distant to be taken into one view. I wished you with me to enjoy so glorious a sight; but then you must have run the risk of yellow fever, and been tormented by the xixen and musquito before you got here; so I ceased wishing for you. By the way we are relieved from those tormenting insects; we parted with them below Encero: they accompany pestilence and disease, and fly from the healthy mountains.

From the village of Hoja, a collection of huts built of mud, the whole scene changes We left the paved road we had travelled over from Jalapa, and entered a narrow path that winds gradually up between two hills, deeply wooded with pines, interspersed with viburnum, and a great variety of flowering shrubs. The leaves of this pine, which are not quite so long as those of our long-leaved pine, are pendent. It is not so lofty a tree as that of our forests, but is very beautiful, and the top terminates in a cone. We saw a few short-leaved pine scattered here and there among the others. We continued to ascend through this wood until three o'clock, when we emerged from it to a tract of country covered with lava. Viewed from a distance, it resembles lands newly turned up with the plough. Here and there were to be seen a few yuccas and small aloes, and in some

spots low pines and small shrubs reared their heads through chasms in the lava. A little before we entered the village of Las Vigas, where we arrived at half past five, we met a convoy with mortars and shells, going to Vera Cruz. The mortars were on wheels, drawn by oxen yoked by the head and horns, and the shells were carried on the backs of mules, each mule carrying one shell fixed on the top of the pack-saddle: a most dilatory and expensive mode of carrying artillery and munitions of war.

For reasons best known to themselves, our muleteers carried us through the village of Las Vigas, where there are some houses built of mud and unburnt bricks, to a cottage in the suburbs. Our escort, a serjeant and four dragoons, and our muleteers, are accommodated in a vacant building, and we are in a small kitchen, where I am now writing, as near to the fire as the smoke will permit, for it is very cold. The fire, which is of pine wood, is kindled on the hearth floor, and the family are huddled round it in defiance of the smoke, chatting and laughing. Four damsels are industriously employed making tortillas of Indian corn—a process which I shall take another opportunity to describe, for I am called to eat them, and I have fasted since breakfast.

When we went into the house, which consisted of one room, I found that our mattrasses had been spread on a boarded floor, rough and uneven to be sure, for the boards are hewed out with an axe, but so much better in this cold weather than the bare earth, that we were well pleased with

the change, and thought it vastly comfortable. In the room were three decent looking beds, besides our own. The old couple had retired before us, and I must confess that I was curious to see how the young ladies would go to bed in our presence, for a candle was burning before an image of the Virgin. They came in soon after, and paired off to the two vacant beds, where they contrived to undress under the clothes with great decency.

We set out, contrary to usage, before sunrise, and found the cold intense. It had frozen in the night, and our mules broke the ice with their feet. This cold is owing to the vicinity of the Coffre de Perote, and to the situation of this tract of country, open and exposed to the north and north-west. We passed two *haciendas*—a large farm, with extensive buildings, a dwelling-house having stores and a chapel annexed to it, constitute a hacienda. These were in the midst of cultivated fields, which, to judge from the stubbles and corn stalks, must be very productive. We soon came in view of the town and castle of Perote, situated on a very extensive plain, partially cultivated, and covered with pumice stones. As we advanced the view became very fine. Before us was the mountain of Pizarro, insulated in the midst of the plain, and presenting a vast mass of rock terminated in a lofty cone: on the left, in the distance, stood the volcanoes covered with snow, and in front of them a long line of bold craggy mountains. The atmosphere was very clear, and every object distinctly defined. The fore-ground of the landscape was strikingly contrasted with the mountain scenery.

It was made up of a view of the town of Perote, with its white towers, and the castle, a regular fortification of four bastions in good preservation—of fields clothed with the richest verdure, and covered with cattle—lands newly ploughed, with ploughmen driving "their team a-field," and all the soft and pleasing beauties of nature.

We entered the town at ten o'clock, and drove through it to the meson, which is situated at the opposite extremity. The town is small, the streets narrow, and the houses low, of only one story, or to speak more correctly, of only one floor. Many of them appeared to be large and commodious, having court yards in the interior. We entered the meson by a gate, like the *porte cochere* of a French hotel, into a large court yard. The *huespede*, with a bundle of keys, immediately attended, and opened a number of small apartments, that we might take our choice. They were all equally cheerless and uncomfortable. Walls that had once been white, earth floors, a clumsy deal table, with the feet fast rammed into the earth, a bench of the same materials and workmanship, and fixed in the same manner, at a most inconvenient distance from each other, both immoveable. On one side of the gate, and just within it, is a shop, and on the other a kitchen. The cook gave us an alarming account of the state of her larder—*tortillas* and *frijoles*, or beans, were all she had to offer us for breakfast. These frijoles, however fine it may sound, are only our red cow peas. We relieved the cook from her distress, at being compelled to present such a bill

of fare to cavalleros, by bringing forth our own stores, and she soon transformed a cold fowl into a very savoury *gisado*. While at breakfast, we received a pressing invitation from the commandant at Perote to visit the castle and to dine with him, which we were compelled to decline. We left our meson at half past eleven, and for three hours continued to pass over the plain of Perote. The road is level; indeed a few leagues beyond Las Vigas, we reached the summit of the table land—and ever since we have travelled over a level country.

From Perote to the foot of Mount Pizarro, the country has the appearance of being well cultivated. Several ploughs were at work, and the land was manured. The ploughs are of a simple construction, resembling our shovel ploughs, and are drawn by either one or two mules driven by a boy

As we wound round the base of the Pizarro, we thought that we saw an extensive lake on the left of the road about three miles off. Although prepared to meet with the *mirage* on this plain, and although I had seen this singular phenomenon in Asia, it was a long time before I could be convinced that what I saw was an optical delusion. My companion was most positive that it must be a large sheet of water, and was very much surprised, as we approached, to see the lake converted into an extensive tract of loose sandy soil, over which the rays of light appeared to tremble and undulate through an extremely rarefied atmosphere. The base of Mount Pizarro, round which we continued to wind by a gentle ascent, is composed of lava,

almost entirely concealed by the nopal, a broad-leaved *cactus*, which bounded the view on both sides of the road.

It was melancholy to leave the magnificent view of the volcanos and mountains, and cultivated fields, and to plunge at once into this gloomy scene. In the midst of this desolation we entered Tepe Agualco, a miserable village, composed of mud houses; and the only appearance of cultivation near it, a few plants of the maguey (*agave Americana.*) The meson, which is the largest building in the place, was occupied by soldiers, who are on their march towards Vera Cruz, and we wandered for some time from house to house, before we could find a shelter. At length we stopped at the door of a *gachupin*, a European Spaniard, and were admitted, I believe, because they thought us Europeans. The good dame has been so earnest in her complaints against the new government, and so eager to enquire about news from "*Alla*," the other side of the Atlantic, that I have scarcely found time to scribble this account of our day's ride. We have had a very good supper, for those who can relish garlick and oil that tastes. The gachupina brought me a glass of pulque, which was white and sparkling like champaign, but not so clear. The taste is pleasant, and I am not surprised that the people of the country are fond of it. Humboldt says, that it has a flavour of putrid meat: this was not the case with the pulque of Tepe Agualco.

24th.—Swarms of fleas tormented us all night, and kept me awake. We rose early, got a cup of

chocolate, and at seven o'clock set out, rejoicing to get rid of these pests. We passed over a dreary barren plain, until one o'clock, when we reached Ojo de Agua, seven leagues from Tepe Agualco. We passed the small village of Vireyes, which lies a little north of the road, and is sometimes made a stopping place, but we hurried on to Ojo de Agua, where we found a solitary meson. While breakfast was preparing, I strolled into the shop opposite the kitchen, to talk with the shop-keeper, and could not but notice the beggarly account of empty shelves that it presented. A ream of paper, a few bundles of cigars, some Chile pepper, salt, bread, which by the way costs twice as much as with us, pulque, oil and bad brandy, made up the inventory of his stock in trade.

After an excellent breakfast (ride six hours, after taking only a cup of chocolate, and you will understand what I mean by excellence,) we walked to the spring that gives the name to Ojo de Agua. This spring gushes out from the foot of a hill. At its source it is about four feet wide and very shallow, but in a very short distance it appears a large stream, a foot deep, and full fifty feet wide; the water continues to rise and bubble up from the earth for a great distance from the source. This stream, after keeping its course across the plains, is said to lose itself in the mountains near Orizaba. At two o'clock we again got into our littera, and continued our journey. After passing for one hour and a half over a barren waste, the lands appeared to be of better quality, but cultivated in a most slovenly manner to be sure.

We saw some peasants harvesting a field of barley, pull the stalks out by the roots, bind them into sheaves, and carry them on their shoulders to a stack, where they were very clumsily put up. We passed one plough at work, drawn by oxen yoked by the horns. On the plain, and at a little distance south of the road, we saw some large haciendas, surrounded by cultivated fields, enclosed, with laudable economy of space, by the maguey; but the country between this and Mount Pizarro is, for the most part, a waste.

At half past four we reached Nopaluco, a small town built of *tapia*, rammed earth, what the French call *pisé*, which makes a very compact and solid wall. The houses are of one floor.

We drove into the court yard of a meson, and as there is no one here, had our choice of apartments. You have no idea how comfortable we are. The room is paved with tiles, and there is a raised wooden platform to place our beds on. The table, although scrawled and cut all over like a school-boy's desk, is moveable, and I have coaxed the *huespede* out of a chair. In this day's ride we saw several flocks of wild ducks, the first game we have seen in Mexico. Indeed we have seen very few birds of any sort, except buzzards, small vultures with a white ring round the neck, and the wings tipped with white, hawks, two or three flights of doves, and a few ravens, blackbirds, and sparrows.

To-day, about where we saw the ducks, there were sand snipes, and at a great distance the

mock bird: I have seen them too, in all the towns we passed through, hung up in cages. This delightful singing bird inhabits both South and North America, and is found from Virginia to Chile, where I have frequently seen them, and where, during my long absence from the United States, their note acted on me like the air of the Ranz des Vaches on the Swiss, reminding me painfully of home.

Nopaluco is pleasantly situated on a small ridge of land, and the vallies on both sides are tolerably well cultivated in wheat, Indian corn and the agave.

25th.—A coach, returning from Vera Cruz to Mexico, stopped at our meson in Nopaluco, and we thought it would expedite our journey to hire it and dismiss our littera. Coaches are only to be hired in the capital, and a stranger arriving on the coast must hire mules for the journey, or depend upon return coaches. They are clumsy vehicles, but strong and safe. The carriage of the one we hired measures twelve feet from axle to axle, and the body is capable of containing six persons. Our trunks and mattrasses were piled on before and behind the carriage, which is drawn by ten mules; two next the wheels with a postillion, who drives five more in front, while another postillion conducts the three leaders. In this equipage we left Nopaluco at half past five in the morning, and as we had to pass the Pinal, the most dangerous passage in the mountains, and to traverse a country notoriously infested with banditti, we proceeded with due caution. Shortly after leaving

Nopaluco, we passed along a road cut through white sand hills, and the country around us appeared uncultivated and barren. We soon entered a narrow defile, and continued for some time to wind round the base of a hill wooded to the summit with pines and firs, and having on the other side a thick forest of pines and oaks. Our escort proceeded us to reconnoitre, and we every now and then caught a glimpse of them, with the scarlet banners attached to their lances waving among the foliage in the forest and along the hill side. The scene only required a few banditti and a skirmish, to have rendered it worthy the pencil of Salvator Rosa, or the pen of Mrs. Radcliffe.

We passed the Pinal, however, without any adventure, and on emerging from the forest, descended to the bed of a mountain torrent, along which we continued to travel for some distance, the road winding among low barren hills.

Leaving this stony road, we ascended to an extensive plain, and here the volcanoes of Puebla burst upon our view. The Popocatepetl, the loftiest mountain in North America, presents a regular cone, covered with perpetual snow, and rising to the stupendous height of seventeen thousand seven hundred and sixteen feet above the ocean, and eleven thousand one hundred and fifty-six feet above the plain where we stood; and the snowy mountain of Iztaccihuatl, of a broken and irregular form, fifteen thousand seven hundred feet above the level of the sea. The plain over which we now travelled is sandy, and strewed

over with large masses, and loose stones of porphyry. The elevation of this plain is six thousand five hundred and sixty feet above the sea. A few pines and oaks are scattered by the road side, and we saw occasionally a large hacienda, and some appearance of cultivation.

We passed through the small town of Acaxete, and within three leagues of Puebla, another neat and well built town, Omosoque. From hence the country was settled and cultivated, and we were aware of our approach to Puebla, by the bustle and traffic that always distinguishes the avenues of a large city. The road became wider, and we met the country people returning from market in great numbers. They are a swarthy race, and appear to me to be all Indians. Some were carrying their packs on their backs, fixed on by a band across the forehead. In this way, by inclining the body forward, they carry very heavy loads. We met droves of asses with empty packs and panniers—this animal is in very general use. The poor Indians and peasantry scarcely ever own any other beast of burthen, and for short distances prefer it to the mule. It endures harsh treatment better, and seems to thrive in spite of ill usage and bad fare. I have hitherto seen very little commerce on this road. I have met a few stragglers carrying loads of pottery on their backs, in the manner described—two droves of mules returning from the capital, and have passed only two more, conveying goods from Alvarado to the interior.

We entered Puebla at half past twelve o'clock,

having travelled at the very rapid rate of five miles an hour. At the entrance we were stopped by an officer of the internal customs—an establishment the most vexatious and ruinous to commerce; and I was prepared to be detained an hour, while he examined the baggage. To our great relief he only delivered a very civil message from the Intendant of the place, requesting us to proceed to his house, where he had apartments prepared for us. I attributed this mark of respect to a mistaken belief that I was a public agent, but under all circumstances would have declined it. We drove to the best meson in the town, distinguished from those on the road by being two stories high, more crowded with people, more noisy, and if possible, more filthy. This vile inn is called the *Meson del Christo*. As soon as we had changed our dress and breakfasted, we called upon the Intendant, who seemed much disappointed that we had not accepted his offer, and to convince us how much he had been in earnest, he shewed us a parlour with two clean bed rooms neatly furnished. I wished, however, to be at liberty to talk to the people, and to visit all the lions of the place; and steadily resisted even this temptation. He seemed intelligent, but was very reserved, especially on the political state of the country. On leaving him, we found an officer ready to attend us, and a carriage waiting to convey us to wherever we chose to go. We drove to the house of the military commandant, who received us with great kindness and cordiality. He too invited us to remove to his quarters, and we got rid of his kind

importunities only by promising to stay with him on our return.

We next visited the cathedral; the exterior is not very remarkable—it forms one side of a large open square—opposite to it stands the cabildo, or town house, and the sides are occupied by shops under arcades—the whole gaudily painted.

The interior of the cathedral is richly ornamented, and is really magnificent. The grand altar is strikingly splendid—the platform, which is raised some feet above the level of the rest of the church, is inlaid with marble of different colours. The interior of it is appropriated for the cemetery of the bishops of Puebla. The walls are composed of black and white marble, and the whole vaulted with an elliptic arch. The canopy which rests on this platform is supported by eight double marble columns, the effect of which is destroyed by brass ornaments and gilded capitals. The ceiling of the canopy is highly ornamented with stucco and gold. The custodia is of variegated marble; the front of embossed silver, and so constructed as to slide down and display the Host to the congregation. The custodia itself is surmounted by five bronze figures. In front of this altar is suspended an enormous lamp of massive gold and silver, very beautifully wrought The pulpit near it is cut out of a mass of carbonate of lime which is found near Puebla. It receives a high polish, and is semi-transparent. A row of lofty columns supporting the arches, runs round the whole interior of the building. The sanc-

tuaries are numerous, and are ornamented with a profusion of gilding, and some bad paintings.

In the midst of this splendour, miserable half-naked Indians were wandering about, gaping at us, or kneeling at the shrine of some favourite saint, and forming a singular and painful contrast to the magnificence of the temple.

The streets of Puebla are not very wide, but are well paved, and have side-walks of broad flag-stones. The houses are generally two stories high, and are built of stone: the fronts of some are inlaid with painted tiles, highly glazed like the Dutch tile, and others are gaudily and fantastically painted. The bishop's palace is covered over in this way with red tiles. There is a tolerable library and a very good collection of pictures in this palace.

This is said to be one of the very few cities, if not the only one in Mexico, located by the Spaniards. All the others are situated upon the ruins of some city that existed at the time of the conquest. The site does credit both to their taste and judgment. It is built on the south side of a hill that is wooded to its summit. The plain that surrounds it is cultivated in wheat, barley and Indian corn, and all the fruits of Europe, and is highly productive. This plain is bounded by a chain of hills, presenting alternately cultivated fields and luxuriant forests, and the view is terminated by the volcanoes of Puebla, clothed in perpetual snows. The city is compactly and uniformly built. The houses are all of stone;

large and commodious: not one is to be seen that denotes the abode of poverty, yet we met more miserable squalid beings, clothed in rags, and exposing their deformities and diseases, to excite compassion, than I have seen elsewhere. Among the principal causes to which this great and growing evil is to be ascribed, are a mild climate and a fertile soil, yielding abundantly to moderate exertions. In countries like these, the people rarely possess habits of industry. They are accustomed to work only so much as is essentially necessary to support life, and to live from hand to mouth. If they meet with any accident, if they lose a limb, or are wasted by disease, they enter the towns and subsist by charity. This is peculiarly the case here, as this town especially abounds in convents. We counted more than one hundred spires and domes in this city. Each of these institutions supports a certain number of poor, who receive a daily allowance of provisions at the convent door, without prejudice to the sums they pick up by soliciting alms in the street. The custom of begging in the streets existed in Mexico before the conquest, and Cortes speaks of the Indians begging like rational beings, as an instance of their civilization. And in fact it was the greatest he could have given. A people in the hunter state never beg or give in charity. In times of scarcity the old and infirm are sometimes killed from compassion. They are useless, and no one is willing to devote any of his labour to support them. In the shepherd state, want and beggary are unknown. They are found only in

agricultural, manufacturing, and mercantile communities, and especially under mild climates and in fertile territories, or where, from excess of civilization, the poor are provided for by law. The reason is the same in both cases; the poor are rendered improvident by the provision made for them by nature, or by the regulations of civilized society.

Humboldt estimates the population of this city at sixty-seven thousand eight hundred; but the Intendant told us, that by a census taken in 1820, it was found to amount only to sixty thousand. In the village of Atlixco, near this place, there is a cyprus tree (*cupressus disticha*) seventy-three French feet in circumference, and the interior of the trunk, which is hollow, measures fifteen feet in diameter.

Some pains have been taken by those I have conversed with here, to convince me that Iturbide was elevated to the throne by the united voice of the whole people. This I can scarcely credit. That a nation, after suffering from the effects of a badly organized popular government, and after experiencing for some time all the horrors of anarchy and civil war, should take refuge in despotism, is neither strange nor uncommon; but that they should settle down quietly under an arbitrary government, immediately after the successful termination of a revolution, appears to me improbable

CHAPTER V.

Cholula—Volcanoes of Puebla—San Martin—Puente de Tesmelucos—Rio Frio—Cordova—Mexico—First Settlement and present Situation of that City—Leperos—Market of Mexico—Alameda—Aqueducts—Palace of the Viceroy.

26th.—We set out at six o'clock, and on leaving the city entered on a fertile plain, partly cultivated in wheat, rye and barley, potatoes and maguey, and partly laid out in meadows, where the cattle were up to their knees in fine pasture. On the north of the road was the Cordillera of the Malinche, rugged and barren rocks, having their loftiest summits just tipped with snow, that had fallen during the night. On the south stood the volcanoes of Puebla, which, after refracting in splendid tints the rays of the rising sun, remained of dazzling whiteness, rising above a chain of dark mountains, that stretch along their base. Near these mountains stands Cholula, and thither we directed our course, leaving the main road to Mexico on the right. At a distance, the appearance of this *Teocalli* was that of a natural conical hill wooded, and crowned with a small church. As we approached it, we could distinguish its pyramidal form, and the four stories into which it is shaped, although covered with shrubs and evergreen cypress. The height, according to Baron Hum-

boldt, is only one hundred and sixty-two feet, and each side of its base measures one thousand three hundred and one feet. The ascent to the platform is by a staircase of one hundred and twenty steps. The pyramid is built of unburnt bricks and clay, in alternate layers, and contains cavities intended for sepulchres. When the road which we were on, leading from Mexico to Puebla, was constructing, the first story was cut through, and a square cavity discovered in the interior of the pyramid, built of stone, and supported by beams of cypress. In this hollow, which had no outlet, there were found two skeletons, idols in basalt, and some vases curiously painted and varnished. We alighted, and ascended a flight of stone steps to the platform, a surface of about three thousand five hundred square yards, where stands a small chapel, embosomed in a wood of evergreen cypress. Some additions were making to the eastern side of this church. There is a stone cross erected on this pyramid, according to the inscription, in 1666. The view from the summit was extensive and magnificent; we saw the *Popocatepetl, Iztaccihuatl,* and the *Orizaba,* all covered with perpetual snow, and the *Malinche,* or Sierra of *Tlascalla,* rising out of a fertile plain. Beneath us was the city of Cholula, so celebrated by Hernan Cortez, and compared, in his letters to Charles the Fifth, with the most populous cities in Spain. It now has the appearance of a village, containing little more than five or six thousand inhabitants, but surrounded by fields of corn and agave, regularly laid out, and by neatly cultivated gardens.

There are many of these truncated pyramids

(teocalli) in Mexico, supposed to be the work of the Toltecks; all of them are so placed as to be seen at a great distance. These people erected their altars on high places, and the sacrifice was offered in the sight of an assembled nation. Baron Humboldt passed days here, making astronomical observations; and I refer you to his researches for a description of the teocallis of Mexico. When I turn to the work of this extraordinary man, I am disposed to abandon my journal. He has seen more of the country, and described it better, than any other can hope to do, and he has left almost nothing for the future traveller, but the narrative of his own adventures, and a record of his own feelings and impressions. We left this spot with the regret of being compelled to hasten through a country so full of interesting objects. At one we reached San Martin, where we had hoped to see what all travellers regard, the finest view of the volcanoes of Puebla. Most unluckily, they were enveloped in clouds, and we saw only the line of the great chain of volcanic mountains, which extend from Popocatepetl to Rio Frio. At San Martin there is a very tolerable meson, called the Holy Trinity, and it is from the balcony of this inn that travellers, in a fair day, enjoy the fine view so much boasted of by the Mexicans. There is too, here, a church and convent, and attached to the latter a large well cultivated garden.

On leaving San Martin, where we breakfasted, we passed through a tract of country covered with loose stones of porphyry, and thinly wooded with pines and cedars. We began now to wind round

the hills that separate the valley of Puebla from that of Mexico, and at four o'clock, after passing a well built stone bridge, arrived at a solitary meson at the Puente de Tesmelucos; we could have reached Rio Frio, which is only three leagues farther on, but the guides regard that station as dangerous. Travellers have been plundered at the meson, and suspicions were expressed, that the *huespede* was in league with the banditti. Here, then, we are in the most execrable of mesons, crammed into a very small room, without windows, the earth floor covered with fresh mud from the feet of the muleteers and servants; for the clouds that obscured the mountains are descending in torrents of rain. The walls of the room, that once were white, are scratched all over with charcoal drawings and dirty wit. The door opens upon a small court yard, crowded with mules, and we are dinned with the quarrels of their masters. The traveller must possess strong animal spirits, who, after a toilsome journey, encounters with good humour these miseries. My servant is in despair how to dispose of the mattrasses; with the aid of a spade, however, and a little straw, we shall be protected from the mud.

27th.—Anxious to reach the capital early, we set out before day-light, and as the road is rough and dangerous, our guides and soldiers preceded us with lighted torches. In this manner we passed through a deep wood, and up a steep ascent, the summit of which we attained a little before the dawn of day. We descended into the valley of Rio Frio, and passed the river, which is a very

inconsiderable stream, opposite the meson and a hacienda. From this valley the ascent is steep, and we continued for some time to wind round hills covered with thick woods, and carpeted with a great variety of wild flowers. At length we reached the summit of the passage, which resembles some of the gaps in the blue ridge, and after descending for some time through a thick wood, we emerged from it into an open country and caught a view of the valley below us, from which the clouds were just rising. We stopped until they gradually dispersed, and exposed to our view the extensive valley of Mexico, with its lakes, its insulated hills, snowy mountains, and cultivated fields, interspersed with haciendas and villages. It was a magnificent sight; but these beauties vanished as we descended, and rode along the valley. The margins of the lakes are covered with marsh, and they are too much like stagnant pools; the fields are not well cultivated; the villages are built of mud, and the inhabitants are in rags. We passed the venta of Cordova, from whence there is a good view of the valley, and leaving the town of Chalco on our left, proceeded to the village of Ystapaluca, where we breakfasted. Chalco is situated at the north-eastern extremity of the lake, which is navigable for flat-bottomed boats from this place to the capital, by means of the canal of Iztapalapan.

We stopped but a very short time at Ystapaluca, and after passing through the small towns of Tlapisahua and Los Reyes, entered on a calzada, or paved causeway, about eighty feet wide, that

traverses the margin of the lake of Tezcuco, having on the right the whole expanse of the lake, covered with white gulls and other water-fowl; and, on the left, low marshy lands with pools of water, on which were vast numbers of wild ducks. As we drove along, my attention was attracted by swarms of very small, black, winged insects, fluttering in the ditches by the road side. They were driven forward by the wind, and were so numerous as to resemble as they moved along, the flow of a stream of dark water; they flowed through one of the ditches leading to the lake, until lost in the water, blackening the surface to a great distance. About two or three miles before we reached the causeway we distinguished the spires and churches of Mexico. The appearance at this distance gave promise of a large and well built city. The catholic cities have greatly the advantage over ours, from the size and magnificence of the churches, and from the number of towers and spires that adorn them. At a distance, Mexico surpasses in appearance any other city in North America. We left the lake a short distance before we reached the walls.

During the revolution, Mexico was surrounded by a breastwork of pisè, a very weak defence against a regular army, but formidable to the desultory forces that attacked it. We entered through a narrow pass, and as usual were stopped at the gate by the custom-house officer, who treated us with great politeness, and suffered us to proceed without examining our baggage. A little before we reached the walls it began to rain,

and our first impressions on entering the city were unfavourable. The suburbs are filthy, and the houses low and built of mud and unburnt bricks; but we soon found ourselves in a large street, well paved, and lined with handsome stone buildings. We drove to the *Sociedad Grande*, represented to us as the best inn in the city, but unluckily we found it full. We met with the same bad fortune at the next meson we visited, and after driving about for more than an hour, and applying in vain at six mesons, we stopped at the lodgings of our countryman General W——, who received us in the kindest manner; he has been some time here, and we sat up to a late hour, listening to his interesting account of the country. We are now comfortably lodged in the house of Mr. W—— of Philadelphia.

28th.—Before I indulge you with a walk through the city, let me give you a sketch of its first settlement, and present situation. I will not begin with the creation of the world, nor with the deluge, although the people of this country have a tradition of that event, But I will begin from the year 1160, when the Aztecks first emigrated from Aztlan, or, according to some authorities, in 1038, or, to others, 1064. After wandering about during the term of fifty-six years, they reached the valley of Tenochtitlan, or *Mexico*. They at first fixed themselves at Zumpanco, but shortly after moved to the south side of the mountains of *Tepeyacac*, where they settled on the spot now occupied by the village and church of our Lady of Gaudaloupe. In 1245 they took possession of the mountain of

Chapoltepec. Harassed by the princes of Zalcotan, they were forced to abandon these positions, and took refuge for a short time on a group of small islands, called Acocolco. An ancient tradition had been preserved among them, that they were to terminate their migrations, and to fix themselves, finally, on the spot where they should see an eagle perched on the branch of a nopal *(cactus)* with the roots piercing through the crevices of a rock. The eagle and the nopal designated by the oracle, were discovered on one of the islands, near the western side of the lake Tezcuco, in the year 1325, and on that island the Aztecks built a Teocalli, or great temple, dedicated to the worship of their god of war, Mexitli. At the time of the conquest, Mexico was a large and populous city; for an account of which I refer you to Clavigero, Storia di Messico, and especially to the letters of Hernan Cortez to Charles the Fifth, a work of very great interest, and which appears to me to contain the most exact description of the state of this country prior to the conquest. At that period the city was built on several small islands in the lake, but it is now fourteen thousand seven hundred and sixty-three feet from the lake of Tezcuco, and upwards of twenty-nine thousand five hundred and twenty-seven feet from that of Xochimilco. This change has been effected both by artificial and natural means. When the city was taken the last time by Cortez, the temples, palaces, and houses, were destroyed, and the canals filled up with the ruins. The trees in the valley have been for the most part cut down by the Spaniards, and the annual

fall of water has sensibly decreased. The evaporation of the lakes is very considerable at this great height, and the canal of Huehuetoca, leading from the lakes Zumpanco and San Christoval to the river Tula, drains off the water slowly, but constantly, towards the ocean, and prevents those lakes flowing into the Tezcuco.

The appearance of the country about the city indicates its having been formerly overflowed. It is marshy, and can only be passed on causeways raised with stone two or three feet above the level of the plain. The lake of Tezcuco is salt, and from experiments made by Baron Humboldt, is found to contain more of the muriate of soda than the Baltic sea. In the dry season, the country in the immediate vicinity of the city, is covered with a crust of efflorescent salt.

The new city, which was commenced in 1524, is built on piles. The streets are sufficiently wide, and run nearly north and south, east and west, intersecting each other at right angles; they are all well paved, and have side walks of flat stones. The public squares are spacious, and surrounded by buildings of hewn stone, and of very good architecture. The public edifices and churches are vast and splendid, and the private buildings being constructed either of porous amygdaloid or of porphyry, have an air of solidity, and even of magnificence. They are of three and four stories high, with flat terrace roofs, and many of them are ornamented with iron balconies. The houses of Mexico are all squares, with open courts, and the corridors, or interior piazzas, are orna-

mented with enormous china vases, containing evergreens. They are not so well furnished as our houses in the United States, but the apartments are more lofty and spacious, and are better distributed. The entrance leads through a large gate into an inner court, with the stairs in front of the gate. The best apartments, which are generally gaudily painted, are on the street, and frequently on the second story above the ground floor.

Our large cities are many of them neater than Mexico, but there is an appearance of solidity in the houses, and an air of grandeur in the aspect of this place, which are wanting in the cities of the United States. With us, however, a stranger does not see that striking and disgusting contrast between the magnificence of the wealthy and the squalid penury of the poor, which constantly meets his view in Mexico. I have described the palaces of the rich, the abode of poverty does not offend the eye. It is beneath the church porches, in miserable barracks in the suburbs, or under the canopy of heaven. There are at least twenty thousand inhabitants of this capital, the population of which does not exceed one hundred and fifty thousand souls, who have no permanent place of abode, and no ostensible means of gaining a livelihood. After passing the night sometimes under cover, sometimes in the open air, they issue forth in the morning like drones to prey upon the community, to beg, to steal, and in the last resort to work. If they are fortunate enough to gain more than they require to maintain themselves for a day,

they go to the pulqueria, and there dance, carouse, and get drunk on pulque and *vino mezcal*, a brandy distilled from the fermented juice of the agave. Around and under the pulquerias, which are open sheds covering a space of from fifty to a hundred feet, men and women may be seen in the evening, stretched on the ground, sleeping off the effects of their deep potations. These people, called by Humboldt, *saragates* and *guachinangos*, are more generally known by the name of *leperos*. They are for the most part Indians and Mestizos, lively and extremely civil, asking alms with great humility, and pouring out prayers and blessings with astonishing volubility. They are most dexterous pick-pockets, and I heard of some instances of their sleight of hand, that surpass the happiest efforts of the light-fingered gentry of Paris or London,

From what I have said of the *leperos* of Mexico, you will compare them to the *lazaroni* of Naples. The comparison will be favourable to the latter, who work more readily, steal less frequently, and are sober.

We walked through the market place, and I was surprised to see it so well furnished. The markets of Philadelphia and New York display butchers' meat in greater quantity, and generally of better quality, but here we saw game in abundance. Wild ducks, birds of various sorts, venison and hares, and the profusion and variety of fruits and vegetables, were greater than I had seen in any market in Europe or America. The following are the prices of some articles, and what I under-

stood to be the usual rates: Beef, twenty-eight ounces, twelve and a half cents—mutton and veal, twelve and a half cents per pound—eggs, twenty-five cents a dozen—fish from the lakes, about nine or ten inches long, one dollar per pound—fowls, from fifty to seventy-five cents a pair—pigeons, twenty-five cents a pair—turkeys, from seventy-five cents to a dollar each—peaches, fifty cents a dozen—pears, seventy-five cents—the tuna, (fruit of the cactus) twenty-five cents—alligator pears, fifty cents—oranges, thirty-three and three-fourths, mameis, thirty-three and three-fourths, grapes, thirty-three and three-fourths cents a pound; pine apples, twelve and a half cents each.

The fruits of the tropics are raised a short distance from the city, and the vegetables and fruits of Europe are cultivated on the borders of the lakes Xochimilco and Chalco, by the Indians, who bring them to market in canoes ornamented with flowers. The stalls are set out with flowers, which are in great demand by all classes, to adorn the shrine of some saint, the patron of the house, or to grace a festival. The market is filled with stalls, and the paths through it are very narrow and obstructed by a crowd of leperos, whom I was cautioned not to touch, for their blankets swarm with vermin. The streets surrounding the market are filled with earthenware for cooking, and other domestic purposes. The Indians every where make earthen pots very neatly, and the people here use them instead of iron or copper vessels.

From the market we walked to the Alameda, a

public walk, or rather park, laid out in lines diverging from different centres, and planted with a great variety of trees. The roads are wide enough to admit the passage of carriages, and it is much frequented on Sundays and festivals. There is a fountain in the centre of the Alameda, which is supplied with water from the great aqueduct leading from Santa Fè to the city. The water is carried along in trenches, so as to water the plants and trees, and is then discharged into the lake. This aqueduct, which passes close by the Alameda, is thirty-three thousand four hundred and sixty-four feet in length, supported on arches of stone and brick, plastered over. The water is brought from the springs of Santa Fè, near the chain of mountains that separate the valley of Mexico from that of Lerma and Toluca. Another aqueduct, ten thousand, eight hundred, and twenty-six feet in length, conducts the water from Chapoltepec to the city. The arches of this aqueduct, of which there are nine hundred and four, are nine feet, six inches apart, and the columns four feet thick. The width is about six feet six inches. The column of water is two feet three inches wide, and two feet deep. The water of Chapoltepec is, I believe, the best: that of Santa Fè is said to contain a large proportion of the carbonate of lime.

The ancient city of Tenochtitlan contained several extensive aqueducts: that of Chapoltepec was destroyed by the captains Alvarado and Olid at the commencement of the siege; and the remains of the work, by which the waters of Amilco,

a spring near Santa Fè, were conveyed to the city, may still be seen. This aqueduct was constructed with double pipes of baked earth. One set of these served to convey the water while the other was cleaning. I have seen in Chile and Peru very extensive works for leading water to cities, and for the purpose of irrigating the plains and valleys. They appear in some instances to have been laid out with great skill. The water having been conducted along the declivity of the mountains so as to irrigate the lands beneath, and the embankments supported by walls, still remain as monuments of the civilization of those nations.

29th.—At eight o'clock this morning I walked to the viceroyal palace in the principal square. It is built on the spot occupied by Cortes after the conquest of the city, directly opposite the palace of Montezuma. The government thought proper to appropriate this building to their own use, and the palace of the Marquis del Valle (Cortes) was afterwards reared on the ruins of that of Montezuma. The palace of the Mexican monarch is represented to have consisted of a number of low spacious houses. That of the viceroy occupies a great extent, and is composed of a number of squares, and inner courts, with separate staircases and suites of apartments. One of these courts contains the botanic garden. We made our way among stone and mortar, and workmen who are busily employed fitting up the principal apartments for the imperial residence, and ascended a fine flight of stone steps to the apart-

ment occupied by the secretary of state (Herrera.) He received us with great civility, in a large room gaudily painted and poorly furnished. There is nothing peculiar in his physiognomy excepting an expression of shrewdness, common to those of his profession in this country. He is a priest, and was for some time agent for the patriots at New Orleans. He appeared well informed, and is simple in his manners. To judge, rashly perhaps from the first interview, he has placed himself on a dangerous eminence, and cannot bear to look steadily on the perils of his situation. Our interview was short. He was obliged to attend the congress, now in secret session on the proposal submitted to them by the emperor and his privy council, to diminish the number of members. It is thought by his imperial majesty, that two hundred members are not quite so easily kept in subjection to his will as sixty might be, and he insists upon reducing them to that number. This proposal is made under the pretext of facilitating the despatch of business, and diminishing the expenses of government. The members now receive a salary of three thousand dollars a year. He lately got rid of fourteen or fifteen of the most liberal and enlightened members of congress, by accusing them of being engaged in a conspiracy against the government. They were arrested, and are confined in a convent. I am ignorant whether they be guilty or not. If the character I have received of them be correct, they are probably guilty; for what noble and generous mind will endure patiently to see his country

enslaved, and not make an effort to liberate it, and to destroy an usurper and a tyrant! The success of the measure now proposed, will make congress the mere organ of his imperial majesty's will. On my return home I found the Columbian minister waiting to see me. He refused to acknowledge the emperor or go to court until he received instructions from his government, and his house has been the rendezvous of the opposition members and of the republicans. It has been thought advisable to accuse him of being implicated in the conspiracy, and he has been ordered to leave the country in six days. I have received a great deal of information from this gentleman respecting the state of this country.

It has rained the whole day. The rains commenced this year after the usual time, and have continued to a later period. They begin generally in May, and last until the commencement of October. A very fortunate distribution of the seasons for the agriculture of the country. In the low country, or *tierras calientes,* the land yields two crops annually. On the table land only one; but the rains set in at the period of planting, and terminate at the commencement of the harvest. They are continued and heavy; and more water falls in Mexico during the five months of the rainy season, than in our country during the whole year.

CHAPTER VI.

The Cathedral—Mexican Calendar—Statue of Charles IV.—The Mint—Dissolution of Congress—Day of All Saints—Interview with Iturbide.

30th.—Directly after breakfast this morning we walked to the cathedral, which occupied one side of the great square, and stands on the ruins of the great *teocalli* or temple of the god Mixitli. The front is very singular. One part of it is low and of bad gothic architecture; the other part is in the Italian style, ornamented with pilasters and statues, and is very handsome. The interior is imposing, larger, loftier, and more magnificent than the cathedral of Puebla. The distribution is the same, and the great altar not quite so rich. The dome is bold and is painted with great taste. The sanctuaries contain some tolerable paintings, and are neatly ornamented. On the whole, this church would do credit to any city in Europe. Within the enclosure of the cathedral, which is of stone pillars and chains, there is a stone buried so that the surface alone is visible. In digging twenty or thirty feet deep, in order to level the great square, a great number of idols and other remains of Azteck sculpture were discovered; among them were a large stone containing the

Mexican calendar, a colossal statue of the goddess Teoyaomiqui, and this stone is generally called the altar of sacrifice. It is about nine feet broad. In the centre is a head in relief, surrounded by groups of two figures, all represented in the same attitude—a warrior with his right hand resting on the helmet of a man offering him flowers. There is a groove, said to have been cut to let the blood of the victims run off. Baron Humboldt thinks this was not an altar, but one of those stones called Temalacatl, which were placed on a platform, and on which, the prisoners most distinguished for their rank combated for their lives.

"Placed on the Temalacatl, surrounded by an immense crowd of spectators, they were to fight six Mexican warriors in succession: if they were fortunate enough to conquer, their liberty was granted them, and they were permitted to return to their own country; if, on the contrary, the prisoner sunk under the strokes of his adversaries, a priest called Chalchiuhlepehua dragged him dead or living to the altar, and tore out his heart." The left foot of the conqueror terminates in a beak, which appears to be a weapon of some sort. The stone is porphyry.

There is another still more singular stone, worked into the wall of the cathedral, so as to expose the whole surface of one side. It was discovered at the same time as the one just described, likewise of basaltic porphyry, but larger and covered with characters in relief, representing the signs of the Mexican calendar. In the centre is a hideous head, which is surrounded by two circles

of hieroglyphics, and beyond them there are three other circles, richly ornamented in relief. It is surprising how the Mexicans could have sculptured this hard stone with tools of jade or obsidian. I have before me a book published by Alzate, giving a description of this stone, which some day I will translate. At present you must be content to know, that the civil year of the Aztecks was a solar year of three hundred and sixty-five days, divided into eighteen months, each of twenty days, and five complementary days, which were called *nemontemi*, or voids, and were considered unlucky, so that children born on these days were regarded as unfortunate, and were called unhappy. The beginning of the day was sunrise, and it was divided into eight parts. We know only four of them—the rising of the sun, its setting, and its two passages across the meridian. The month was divided into four periods of five days each.

Thirteen Mexican years formed a cycle, "*Tlalpilli*," analogous to the indiction of the Romans. Four Tlalpilli formed a period of fifty-two years, called a ligature of years, and represented by a bundle of reeds, tied by a riband; and two of these ligatures, or periods of fifty-two years, formed an old age. The Spanish writers distinguish these periods by calling the ligature half a century, and the old age a century.

Thus the Mexicans had days divided into eight hours, weeks of five days, months of four weeks, years of eighteen months, indictions of thirteen years, half centuries of fifty years, and

centuries of one hundred and four years. For an accurate description of this stone, for the names of the months, and for a long and learned account of the calendar and annals of the Aztecks, which begin at an epocha corresponding to the year 1091 of our era, I refer you to Humboldt's Researches, and to Clavigero, Storia de Messico, and to Alzate. If I had industry to examine into the subject, I have not time to do it now. The cathedral occupies a space of five hundred feet by four hundred and twenty feet front. Opposite this building, and in the centre of the great square, there is a large oval space, paved with flat stones of porphyry, and enclosed with granite pillars and iron railings, richly ornamented; in the middle of which, on a pedestal of marble, stands an equestrian statue of Charles IV. in bronze. It is admirably well executed; and after that of Agrippa in Rome, and of Peter the Great in St. Petersburgh, is the most spirited and the most graceful equestrian statue I have ever seen. It was cast in Mexico, and the artist, Mr. Tolsa, succeeded at the first cast of the metal. He deserves great credit to have himself moulded, cast, and placed a statue, weighing forty thousand five hundred pounds, in a country so destitute of mechanical resources.

We next visited the family of the Conde de Regla, so frequently cited by Baron Humboldt, for his great possessions, his rich mines, and vast landed estates. His house is similar to those I have already described, the apartments spacious and well furnished, and we were politely received

by the Condessa, who is very beautiful and amiable. She appeared to be very young, but had six children in the room with her. I learnt from her, that among the titled and the rich, early marriages are very common. She is not more than twenty years of age. Her youngest sister, only sixteen, has two children; and it is not uncommon for girls to marry at thirteen years of age. This custom exists wherever there are large entailed estates, and is practised to secure great *mayorazgos**, or entails, and to unite powerful families. Lady Russel, in her very interesting letters, mentions several of these early marriages in her own family, and dwells upon the negociations that preceded them.

I spent some time in conversation with the Countess, and found her very intelligent, and decidedly opposed to the present order of things, which she assures me is contrary to the wishes of the nation, and in opposition to all that is virtuous and enlightened in the country.

The Count took us to see his stables, and showed us some very fine horses; each in a separate room, about twelve feet square, and carefully groomed. They were all stallions, of the Anda-

* By the laws of Spain, the patrimony is divided into fifteen shares. Three shares, that is, one-fifth of the whole, are first substracted; afterwards, four shares, or one-third of the remaining twelve shares. This fifth and third are termed a mayorazgo, and are at the free disposition of the parents. They may, however, and generally are, entailed upon the eldest son of the family; but a greater portion of the patrimony cannot be settled upon him without leave from the crown. The remaining shares are appropriated to the other children.

lusian breed, low, with very full stout necks, round bodies, and clean limbs. When mounted, they are very spirited and showy, and are remarkably fast pacers. The price of horses in Mexico varies from twenty dollars to fifteen hundred, and the Conde de Regla values his best horse at two thousand. His mules were very large, several of them from fifteen to sixteen hands and a half high. They are used for the draught in preference to horses, and when large are valued at a thousand dollars a pair. The greatest luxury of a Mexican is to have four of these fine mules drawing a carriage, richly painted and varnished. Even when not used, they are kept harnessed to the carriage, and standing in the court yard from morning to night. The harness is heavily ornamented with brass plates, and the tails of the mules are enclosed in stout leathern bags.

At the next house we visited, we found the lady of the mansion smoking a paper cigar, which she took out of her mouth with the utmost nonchalance, and received us very graciously. On taking leave, she invited us to attend her *Tertulias*, evening assemblies, where the young dance and sing, and sometimes join the old in games of hazard, which are always introduced in an assembly in Mexico. If they meet to dine together, they sit down to play before dinner, and no re-union takes place in the evening without gaming. In the afternoon, we rode out to the Paseo Nuevo, a broad road raised about three feet above the meadow land, that surrounds the city, and planted on both sides with willow

trees—a tall, stiff, conical tree, resembling in form and appearance the Lombardy poplar. The Paseo was crowded with carriages, some whirling rapidly along, and others drawn up round the open circle in the middle of the road, where the ladies amuse themselves for hours examining the equipages that roll by, and nodding, smiling, and shaking their fans at their acquaintances as they pass. This constitutes the afternoon's amusement of the wealthy. The bodies of their coaches are large, but of a very good form, and well painted; a little too fine, as you will think, when I tell you that Guido's Aurora frequently adorns the middle pannel. The carriage is very clumsy; from the axle of the fore to that of the hind wheel, the distance is not less than twelve feet; and there is, moreover, a projection of two or three feet before and behind, on which are fastened the leathers that suspend the body of the coach. They are very easy vehicles to ride in, and I shall soon be reconciled to their appearance.

We met the imperial carriages, with their imperial majesties, and the princes of the blood imperial, escorted by the imperial horse-guards. They whirled by us, and I could not distinguish the features of any of them.

31st.—In the morning we visited the *Casa del Apartado;* a building appropriated to the operation of separating gold from silver. In the mines of Guanaxuata, the same matrix contains both gold and silver, and when the bars are delivered at the mint, they are assayed, and if found to

contain a certain proportion of gold, are sent here to be carried through the process of separation, which I will endeavour to describe to you as I saw it performed.

The first room we were shewn into, contains a range of vats, each a cube of about four feet. These are lined with bitumen, so as to resist the action of a strong acid, and have a glass cover to enable the operator to observe the process as it goes on. The bars of metal are piled in these vats, and nitrous acid of the strength of 27° is poured over them. Each vat is furnished with a glass tube, closely luted in, to convey the gas, as it is disengaged, into a reservoir of water, where it is condensed; and which, when strengthened with some additional acid, is used again. The silver is dissolved by the nitrous acid, and the gold remains in a black powder, which is purified and cleansed by repeated washings. In the centre of another room was a large circular furnace, round the interior of which were placed glass retorts covered with luting, and filled with the nitrous acid saturated with silver. The neck of each retort projected through the furnace, and was luted to that of another retort, placed on the outside of it. The acid is driven off by heat from the first, and is condensed in the second retort, leaving the silver strongly adhering to the glass. After removing as much of the metal as is practicable, the retorts are broken up and ground to an impalpable powder in stone mills. This is mingled with powdered *greta*, or lead ore, and the whole melted together and run into bars. These bars are after-

wards put into large vessels made of powdered brick and cinders, which are so placed in the furnace that the lead, which melts at a lower temperature than silver, runs off, and leaves the silver in the vessel. There were several other rooms where the glass retorts are made, but I will spare you what I was obliged to listen to, and to see the whole process of making glass and blowing retorts. The nitrous acid is likewise prepared in this building. It is made from unrefined saltpetre, adulterated with muriate, and in consequence contains a considerable portion of muriatic acid, which is absorbed by adding the nitrate of silver. The muriate of silver so formed, is decomposed by melting it with *greta*, lead ore. The expence of separating the gold from the silver is estimated at thirty-seven and a half cents for each mark of gold, (eight ounces.)

From the Casa del Apartado we went to see the *Moneda*, or mint of Mexico. The work-shops contain ten sets of rollers to press out the bars to the requisite size. These are moved by sixty mules. There are fifty-two circular cutters; twenty screws for coining, which are worked by a heavy lever moved by two men, and five mills for amalgamating the filings and sweepings. The rooms, staircases, and every part of the building are carefully swept from time to time. The sweepings, which contain particles of silver, are ground up in mills similar to bark mills, to a very fine powder, which is mixed with burnt copper ore, salt and quicksilver; and we saw six men treading the mass with their feet on a stone floor. It is then washed

repeatedly—the earth and extraneous substances are poured off with the water, and the amalgam remains pure. The amalgam is then pressed by the hand into isosceles triangles, which are piled up over a furnace, and covered with a large recipient. The mercury, as it volatilizes, is condensed at the top of the recipient, which is cooled by water: the silver is left in the form of triangles, and is afterwards cast into bars. At the last change of the administration, as the rooms had not been swept for several years, that operation yielded two hundred thousand dollars.

We visited a room where a number of artists were employed preparing dyes; the treasury and other offices, and the stables, which are very spacious, and filled with mules. The establishment is on a vast scale, and the administration of this department costs the government not less than eighty thousand dollars annually, for the ordinary and regular expences, and very frequently, a larger sum for extra charges. The expense of coinage, including the salaries of those employed, amounts only to twelve and a half cents for each mark of silver. The annual profits of these establishments varied according to the amount of money coined. When it did not exceed fifteen millions of dollars, the profit to the crown was six per cent.; eighteen millions yielded six and a half, and when above that sum, they amounted to seven per cent. The Casa del Apartado and the mint united, yielded an annual profit of about one million and a half of dollars. Formerly there was a fund belonging to the mint, and the proprietor brought off

the money by the same mules that carried the silver to be coined, after deducting the seignorage and other charges. This was of vast advantage to the miner. But that fund has been appropriated to other uses by the present government, and the returns are not received until after some time. The government formerly sold quicksilver to the miners at a certain price. This was objectionable as a monopoly, but it always insured a supply of that necessary article. The government had an interest, not only in the sale of the quicksilver, but in the production of the precious metals—one-tenth part of which belonged to the crown. Baron Humboldt gives a table of the annual coinage in Mexico up to the year 1802. Annexed you will find that table, and a statement of the money coined here from that period to 1821.

The mint is a spacious stone edifice of three hundred and sixty feet front, by two hundred and sixty deep. There are not less than thirty persons employed in the different offices, fifteen engravers, five assayers, and two hundred labourers ; and there are never less than one hundred mules in the stables.

Nearly opposite the mint stands the palace of the archbishop of Mexico, a large two story building, not very remarkable for the magnificence of its exterior.

Account of Gold and Silver extracted from the Mines of Mexico, and coined at Mexico from 1690 *to* 1803 *inclusive.*—HUMBOLDT.

Years.	Value in dollars.	Years.	Value in dollars.	Years.	Value in dollars.
1690	5,285,580	1728	9,228,545	1766	11,210,050
1691	6,213,709	1729	8,814,970	1767	10,415,116
1692	5,252,729	1730	9,745,870	1768	12,278,957
1693	2,802,378	1731	8,437,871	1769	11,938,784
1694	5,840,529	1732	8,726,465	1770	13,926,320
1695	4,001,293	1733	10,009,795	1771	13,803,196
1696	3,190,618	1734	8,506,553	1772	16,971,857
1697	4,459,947	1735	7,922,001	1773	18,932,766
1698	3,319,765	1736	11,016,000	1774	12,892,074
1699	3,504,787	1737	8,122,140	1775	14,245,286
1700	3,379,122	1738	9,490,250	1776	16,463,282
1701	4,019,093	1739	8,550,785	1777	21,600,020
1702	5,022,550	1740	9,556,040	1778	16,901,462
1703	6,097,254	1741	8,663,000	1779	19,435,457
1704	5,627,027	1742	16,677,000	1780	17,514,263
1705	4,747,175	1743	9,384,000	1781	20,335,842
1706	6,172,037	1744	10,285,000	1782	17,581,490
1707	5,735,632	1745	10,327,500	1783	23,716,657
1708	5,735,601	1746	11,509,000	1784	21,037,374
1709	5,214,143	1747	12,002,000	1785	18,575,208
1710	6,710,587	1748	11,628,000	1786	17,257,104
1711	5,666,085	1749	11,823,500	1787	16,110,340
1712	6,613,425	1750	13,209,000	1788	20,146,865
1713	6,487,872	1751	12,631,000	1789	21,229,911
1714	6,220,822	1752	13,627,500	1790	18,063,688
1715	6,368,918	1753	11,594,000	1791	21,121,713
1716	6,496,288	1754	11,594,000	1792	24,195,041
1717	6,750,734	1755	12,486,500	1793	24,312,942
1718	7,173,590	1756	12,299,500	1794	22,011,031
1719	7,258,706	1757	12,529,000	1795	24,593,481
1720	7,874,323	1758	12,757,594	1796	25,644,566
1721	9,460,734	1759	13,022,000	1797	25,080,038
1722	8,224,432	1760	11,968,000	1798	24,004,589
1723	8,107,348	1761	11,731,000	1799	22,053,125
1724	7,872,822	1762	10,114,492	1800	18,685,674
1725	7,370,815	1763	11,775,041	1801	16,568,000
1726	8,466,146	1764	9,792,575	1802	18,798,600
1727	8,133,088	1765	11,604,845	1803	23,166,906

Total of gold and silver from 1690 to 1823, 1,358,452,020 dollars, equal to 284,224,924 pounds sterling.

Silver drawn from the Mines of Mexico from 1690 to 1800, 149,350,271 marks, equal to 98,008,212 pounds troy.

Account of the Coinage in the Mint of Mexico from the year 1802 *to* 1821 *inclusive; furnished by Don Jose Mariana Paria, July* 15, 1822.

Years.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Total.
1802	839,122	17,959,477 3¼		18,798,599 3¼
1803	646,050	22,520,856 1¾		23,166,906 1¾
1804	959,030	26,130,971 0¼		27,090,001 0¼
1805	1,359,814	25,806,074 3¼		27,165,888 3¼
1806	1,352,348	23,383,672 6½		24,736,020 6½
1807	1,512,266	20,502,433 7¼		22,014,699 7¼
1808	1,182,516	20,703,984 7¼		21,886,500 7¼
1809	1,464,818	24,708,164 2½		26,172,982 2½
1810	1,095,504	17,950,684 3½		19,046,188 3½
1811	1,085,368	8,956,433 0¾		10,041,796 0¾
1812	381,646	4,027,620 0¾		4,409,266 0¾
1813		6,133,983 6		6,133,983 6
1814	618,069	6,902,481 4½	103,555 0	7,624,105 4½
1815	486,464	6,454,799 5	101,356 5	7,042,620 2
1816	960,393	8,315,616 0¼	125,281 6	9,401,290 6¼
1817	854,942	7,994,951 0		8,849,893 0
1818	533,921	10,852,367 7½		11,386,288 7½
1819	539,377	11,491,138 5		12,030,515 5
1820	509,076	9,879,078 1		10,406,154 1
1821	303,504	5,600,022 3½	12,700 0	5,916,226 3½
Totals.	$16,684,223	$286,292,811 5¾	$342,893 3	$303,319,928 0¾

31st.—On my return home, I was informed of an event anticipated for some days past—the sudden and violent dissolution of the congress by order of his imperial majesty Augustin the First. Soon after the members assembled this morning, brigadier general Cortazar appeared in the hall, and read the imperial mandate dissolving the congress. He then informed them, that it was his majesty's pleasure they should disperse forthwith, and that if they did not retire within ten minutes, he would be compelled, in obedience to superior orders, to drive them out of the hall. The president immediately directed, that the order should

be spread on the journals of congress, and called upon the general to sign it, which he did, and the members retired. In the afternoon a proclamation was issued to justify this measure. It sets forth, that congress, divided into factions, did nothing but quarrel; refusing to provide for the wants of the army; and that they were a useless expense and burden on the people. That each district should have one representative, to be chosen by the emperor from among the former members, and this new congress, to be called a *congresso instituyente,* should meet on the second day of the next month.

1st November.—I have employed great part of the day, which is the festival of All Saints, in making or rather returning ceremonious visits. Sir Archy may have bowed lower, but not oftener in a day than I have. Remember, when you take leave of a Spanish grandee, to bow as you leave the room, at the head of the stairs, where the host accompanies you, and after descending the first flight, turn round, and you will see him expecting a third salutation, which he returns with great courtesy, and remains until you are out of sight; so that as you wind down the stairs, if you catch a glimpse of him, kiss your hand, and he will think you a most accomplished cavalier. This is the only ceremony to undergo, for your reception will be cordial and friendly. The gentlemen of Mexico are not hospitable, in our sense of the word. They rarely invite you to dine with them; but they introduce you to their families, assure you of being welcome at all times, in a manner that

convinces you of their sincerity, and if you call in the evening, regale you with chocolate, ices, and sweetmeats. If you take to the house, the oftener you go the more welcome you are, and you are treated by all the family with kindness and familiarity.

This is out of all order; but the annoyance of bowing so much, and the unaffected kindness of these people were uppermost in my thoughts.

At sunrise I mounted one of the towers of the cathedral, to take a view of the plain of Anahuac. The morning was fair and the atmosphere clear. We saw the whole basin of Mexico, surrounded by hills and mountains, the lakes and the rich meadows that border on them, the churches and spires of the neighbouring villages, the cultivated fields, divided by straight ditches, fine gardens, and above all in interest and in beauty, the snowy summits of the volcanoes of Puebla.

This being the day of All Saints, the square presented a scene of great bustle, crowded with *leperos*, clothed with a pair of drawers, shirt, and sandals, and sometimes a blanket over their shoulders, and with well dressed persons, many of them bedizened with gold and silver lace. The streets leading to the square were thronged with people moving towards the enclosure where stands the equestrian statue. This place has been covered over, and seats erected in it for the accommodation of spectators. We followed the crowd and made our way through a long line of hackney coaches and splendid equipages, into the circle. Here we found a crowd of all classes of people. Ladies and gentle-

men in gala dresses, displaying laces, jewels and rich uniforms, jostled by men and women covered with blankets or clothed in rags. There was a box fitted up for the imperial family, who were represented by two bad pictures, and from which two centinels kept off the crowd. The other seats which were raised, were filled by well dressed men and women, delighted to exhibit themselves, and to look down on the crowd below, who were elbowing each other in one eternal round. We were soon tired of this sight and went to pay visits. In the evening we returned to this walk, and I was surprised to see several young ladies, pretty and well dressed, smoking cigars. I knew that it was the custom of the ladies to smoke, but supposed they would only do so in private. It appears to me a detestable habit for young ladies, but I suppose my fastidiousness is the effect of early prejudice. The Mexican gentlemen do not seem to dislike it, and the tale of love is whispered, and vows of fidelity are interchanged, amidst volumes of smoke—a bad omen, which, if report speaks correctly, is too often verified.

At ten o'clock to-night we received news that an attack had been made upon the city of Vera Cruz by the garrison of the castle of San Juan de Uloa. The Royalists are said to have been defeated with great loss, and to have been forced to re-embark precipitately, leaving twenty-eight prisoners in the hands of the Imperialists. I feel no sort of interest in the event of actions fought between Royalists and Imperialists in America. Neither party engage my sympathies.

2d November.—I went this morning to the convent of San Domingo to visit the state prisoners. I passed the centinels without being questioned, and was introduced to their apartment by a priest. I was presented to them all, but was particularly pleased with Fagoaga, Tagle, and Herrera. The two former are civilians, well educated and well informed men, who were at the head of the opposition in congress; I mean of the vast majority of that body who were in opposition to the arbitrary measures of the emperor.

Tagle is said to be an able financier. Herrera commanded a body of troops during the revolutionary struggle, and when president of the congress, displayed great energy and firmness of character, on several trying occasions.

The session of the *congresso instituyente* was opened this afternoon by a speech from the throne, and we set out immediately after dinner to witness the ceremony. The hall fitted up for congress had been formerly a church of the Jesuits. The galleries are spacious, and were well filled; but the hall, with seats to contain two or three hundred persons, looked empty and deserted, with only forty members scattered over it. We were provided with seats in the gallery in front of the throne. About six o'clock his majesty entered, preceded by a crowd of attendants bearing lights, and accompanied by the counsellors and ministers of state. He was received by a committee, and conducted to the throne, where he remained seated, and read a long speech, in which he gave his reasons for dissolving the late congress, and insisted

upon the necessity of retracing the steps taken by that body, and of being governed by the plan of Iguala and treaties of Cordova. He gave a short exposé of the state of the nation, insisting that, as it had supported in 1816 an army of thirty-five thousand men, troops of the line, when there was a large insurgent force feeding on the resources and destroying the revenues of the country, there ought to be no difficulty in maintaining the present civil and military establishment. He dwelt at some length on the situation of the army, and attributed their miserable condition, their want of clothing and of pay, to the neglect of the late congress. After he had concluded his written speech he addressed the members for a short time, recapitulating with some force and eloquence, what he had before read to them. The secretary of the *hacienda* (treasury) then ascended the tribune and read a statement of the finances, but in so low a tone of voice, that I found great difficulty in hearing him. I understood him to have said, that the receipts into the treasury of the last year, amounted to eight millions, and the expenses exceeded thirteen.

The deduction, of his majesty, of what the country is capable of supporting, from what it has supported, is not very logical. Their resources have been exhausted by that very effort. From this report of the secretary, and from what I was told this morning, I believe the finances of the country to be in a very wretched condition. No one knows the exact truth, and the refusal of the executive to account for monies expended,

was one cause of difference between him and congress.

3d.—I was presented to His Majesty this morning. On alighting at the gate of the palace, which is an extensive and handsome building, we were received by a numerous guard, and then made our way up a large stone staircase, lined with centinels, to a spacious apartment, where we found a brigadier general stationed to usher us into the presence. The emperor was in his cabinet and received us with great politeness. Two of his favourites were with him. We were all seated, and he conversed with us for half an hour in an easy unembarrassed manner, taking occasion to compliment the United States, and our institutions, and to lament that they were not suited to the circumstances of his country. He modestly insinuated that he had yielded very reluctantly to the wishes of the people, but had been compelled to suffer them to place the crown upon his head to prevent misrule and anarchy.

He is about five feet ten or eleven inches high, stoutly made and well proportioned. His face is oval, and his features are very good except his eyes, which were constantly bent on the ground or averted. His hair is brown with red whiskers, and his complexion fair and ruddy, more like that of a German, than of a Spaniard. As you will hear his name pronounced differently, let me tell you that you must accent equally every syllable, I-tur-bi-de. I will not repeat the tales I hear daily of the character and conduct of this man. Prior to the late successful revolution, he com-

manded a small force in the service of the Royalists, and is accused of having been the most cruel and blood-thirsty persecutor of the Patriots, and never to have spared a prisoner. His official letters to the viceroy substantiate this fact. In the interval between the defeat of the patriot cause and the last revolution, he resided in the capital, and in a society not remarkable for strict morals, he was distinguished for his immorality. His usurpation of the chief authority has been the most glaring, and unjustifiable; and his exercise of power arbitrary and tyrannical. With a pleasing address and prepossessing exterior, and by lavish profusion, he has attached the officers and soldiers to his person, and so long as he possesses the means of paying and rewarding them, so long he will maintain himself on the throne; when these fail he will be precipitated from it. It is a maxim of history, which will probably be again illustrated by this example, that a government not founded on public opinion, but established and supported by corruption and violence, cannot exist without ample means to pay the soldiery, and to maintain pensioners and partisans. Aware of the state of his funds, and of the probable consequences to himself of their failure, he is making great exertions to negociate loans in England; and such is the infatuation of the monied men in that country, that it is possible he may effect his object. The conditions of a loan have been agreed upon, and an agent has lately gone to London—another is preparing to set out for the

same destination with all the pomp of an embassy —and the professors of Botany and Mineralogy told me with great dismay yesterday, that they had received orders from his Majesty to prepare collections to be sent to England. There exists with all the governments of Spanish America, a great desire to conciliate Great Britain; and although the people every where are more attached to us, the governments seek uniformly and anxiously to form diplomatic relations, and to connect themselves with that of Great Britain. They are afraid of the power of that nation, and are aware that their commercial interests require the support of a great manufacturing and commercial people.

We shall glean something of the commerce of those countries, but the harvest will be for the British.

To judge Iturbide from his public papers, I do not think him a man of talents. He is prompt, bold and decisive, and not scrupulous about the means he employs to obtain his ends.

CHAPTER VII.

The Mineria—Academy of Fine Arts—Churches—Climate of Mexico—Chapoltepec—Prince of the Union—Evangelists—Paseo of La Viga—Chinampas or Floating Gardens—Theatre.

I DARE say you are anxious to learn something about the revolution and the subsequent events; but you must have patience. I find it extremely difficult to collect information. To separate truth from falsehood is no easy task any where, and is rendered more difficult here from the character of the people, who are naturally suspicious. Besides, I have barely time to scribble my journal; my mornings and afternoons are passed in sight-seeing, and my evenings in society, where I meet a few well informed men and some pretty women, who talk, play and sing very agreeably. I am afraid you must suspend your curiosity until I embark. At sea I shall have time to arrange and digest my materials.

November 4th.—We this morning visited the Mineria, or School of Mines, which was originally a very magnificent building and a most excellent institution. I believe that I before told you the houses are generally built on piles. Owing to want of proper care in piling for so large an edifice, or to some other defect in the foundation,

it has settled in several places, and the front is visibly out of the perpendicular. In the interior the building is still more disfigured: the walls are cracked and broken: in some places the ceilings have fallen in; and although but just completed, it has the appearance of being in ruins. There is a good philosophical apparatus in one of the rooms, where lectures were delivered; and students residing in the school were taught every branch of natural history and philosophy, and were prepared to be useful superintendents of mines; and the knowledge they acquired here, contributed essentially to improve that branch of industry. The funds of the institution have been diverted to other uses, and the lectures and studies have ceased.

There is a collection of minerals in one of the apartments, but it is very limited—surprisingly so, when we consider the riches of the mineral kingdom in this country. I have, from the first day after my arrival, used every effort to procure good specimens of minerals, and find it extremely difficult, although assisted by Del Rio, professor of mineralogy, and by Cervantes, professor of botany, both learned men, of whom honourable mention is made by Baron Humboldt. Specimens are not to be bought here, nor are they to be procured by sending to the mines. A good collection can only be made by going to those sources of mineral wealth, and there selecting them. I shall return by Guanaxuato, and hope in that district of country to obtain some few specimens. Cervantes himself has a very valuable cabinet, but

many of the minerals mentioned by Humboldt, as to be found in this country, are wanting.

We mounted on the azotea, the flat terrace roof of the Mineria, and went into the Observatory, where Humboldt made his astronomical observations. Geographers are much indebted to his labours, and navigators, especially, have reason to be grateful to him. He has rectified a great many errors, and wherever his observations of the latitude and longitude of different points along the coast have been tested, they have proved to be minutely correct.

After our visit to the Mineria, I was engaged all the rest of the day with visits from members of congress, who, since the dissolution of that body, are detained here under one pretext or other. Their presence among their constituents might produce unpleasant effects. They are exceedingly alarmed lest we should send a mission to the imperial court, and by our recognition of an usurper add moral strength to his cause.

5th.—At an early hour we visited the Academy of Fine Arts, formerly a school of painting and sculpture, but now neglected and falling to ruins, from the same causes that have injured other institutions—the funds, from the exigencies of the government, being diverted to other uses.

There is a very fine collection of casts in excellent preservation, but how long they will remain so is doubtful, for the roof is partly off immediately over them, and the rain falls upon the floor of the room where they are placed.

The cast of the Laocoon is one of the best I

have seen. There are a few pictures thinly scattered along the walls, none very good; and we saw a long line of benches and desks, with designs and models for the pupils, as if they had left them yesterday, whereas no lessons have been given here for more than twelve months past. There is a room for modelling and designing after nature, and every accommodation for the student of the fine arts.*

We next visited churches—not all in Mexico, for that would have required more time than I can spare for any one purpose—but the largest and best endowed. An American gentleman counted one hundred and five cupolas, spires and domes, within the limits of the city, and I understand that there are fifty-six churches besides the cathedral within the same space.

The church of Santa Theresa is very handsomely ornamented, and the architecture is in good taste. That of La Encarnacion, which is attached to a large convent, is very rich and splendid; the principal altar is surmounted by a pyramid of embossed silver, at least fifteen feet high.

The churches of the convents of the Carmelites and of San Ines, are very neat and handsome.

The interior of the church of San Domingo which is attached to a convent of Dominicans, is splendidly ornamented. The capitals of the

* See Humboldt's account of the Academy at the time he resided here.

columns and the sanctuaries are richly gilded, and the whole wears an aspect of magnificence.

The church of Espiritu Santo, is excessively gaudy and in the worst possible taste.

The church of Santa Theresa is very neat and chaste. That of Ensenanza, attached to a convent all gilding and glitter.

La Professa, attached to a very large convent, is next in size to the cathedral, and is handsomely ornamented—indeed, the interiors of all we saw were rich, and some even splendid.

In the convent of La Professa, we observed a series of pictures, representing the heart of man possessed by the devil and the deadly sins, and the regeneration of it to religion and virtue.

The first picture represents a large heart with a human head on the top of it ; within are depicted a frog, a serpent, a goat, a tiger, a tortoise, a peacock and a hog, with the devil in the centre, with a long tail and a pitchfork. In the second picture the devil and all these animals are represented half way out of the heart, and a white dove half way in.

In the third, the devil and the animals are afar off, and the dove has entire possession of the heart.

I was most pleased with the church of Jesus Maria, which is attached to a convent of nuns : a row of Corinthian columns with gilt capitals extends round the church, the dome and ceiling are richly decorated and painted in the best manner, and the whole church is fitted up with great elegance and in the purest taste. In front

of the churches and in the neighbourhood of them, we saw an unusual number of beggars, and they openly exposed their disgusting sores and deformities to excite our compassion. I observed one among them wrapped in a large white sheet, who, as soon as he perceived that he had attracted my attention, advanced towards me, and unfolding his covering, disclosed his person perfectly naked and covered from head to heel with ulcers. I am not easily affected, but this disgusting sight thus suddenly presented to my view, turned me sick, and I was glad to be near home. No city in Italy contains so many miserable beggars, and no town in the world so many blind. This is, I think, to be attributed to constant exposure, want, and the excessive use of ardent spirits. Many are blind from the effects of the small pox—which, before the introduction of vaccination, raged frequently in this country, and was a fatal disease. There have been at different periods epidemics in Mexico, that have swept off a large proportion of the population—and the typhus fever, scarlet fever, and putrid sore throat, are prevailing disorders among the lower classes of people. The lakes situated south of the city, disengage from their surface sulphuretted hydrogen gas, which, when the wind sets from that quarter, may be smelt in the streets of Mexico. This wind is regarded as unhealthy, and the hieroglyphic by which the Aztecks designated it, was death's head.

Notwithstanding this circumstance, and the ast bodies of stagnant waters in the valley,

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intermittent fevers are very rare, and the diseases which afflict the people appear to be independent of local causes. The matlazahuatl, an epidemic, with the character of which we are little acquainted, but that it respects the Europeans and their descendants, and confines its ravages to the Indians, has not been known for many years past in any part of this country. It must have been a distinct disease from the yellow fever or black vomit, for it was confined to the higher regions, to the central plain and table land, and never existed in the low countries. Famine, and its attendant diseases, have thinned the population of this country more frequently than any other cause. The lands are fertile, the climate benign, and man satisfied with little and naturally disposed to indolence, plants and cultivates only so much as in ordinary times will yield him a comfortable subsistence. No provision is ever made for bad seasons, and when droughts and early frosts destroy their crops, they issue forth into the woods and live on roots and wild berries, or eat clay, and thousands of them perish from want and bad nourishment. In all the principal cities there are public granaries, and government does every thing in its power to relieve the people in years of scarcity, and counteract the effects of the natural improvidence of the natives.

November 6th.—I have been engaged to-day, endeavouring to procure the restitution of a sum of money belonging to citizens of the United States, which was sent with the convoy of specie and detained at the castle of Perote. This trans-

action is extremely disgraceful to the government. The merchants of Mexico applied for permits to export specie some months before, but were informed by order of the emperor, that the roads were too insecure to warrant the transportation of any thing valuable to Vera Cruz; that measures had been taken to destroy the hordes of banditti, which infested that part of the country; and that public notice would be given as soon as convoys could pass with safety. By this delay a large sum accumulated, and when notice was given, nearly three millions of dollars were cleared at the custom-house, where money pays an alcabala of two and a half per cent. The same night that this convoy left Mexico, orders were dispatched to the commandant of Perote to detain the money on its passage, which was accordingly done. The emperor in his speech from the throne, on opening the session of the new Junta, hinted that this money would be required for the exigencies of the army, and that it all belonged to Europeans who had already left the country, or were preparing to do so. They have promised to restore the money belonging to our citizens, but these will suffer very much from the delay. The forms of office are tedious, and we must prove the property to be bona fide ours. The ministers did not disguise the fact to me, that all the monies in the convoy belonging to Europeans, will be confiscated to the use of the government.

In the afternoon we rode out to Chapoltepec—an insulated hill of porphyry, surrounded by

a most luxuriant vegetation. The cypress trees excel in girth and height those of our river swamps, and the schinus is larger and loftier here than I have seen it elsewhere. The schinus is somewhat like our weeping willow, but more elegant, and is an evergreen. The berries, which are red, hanging in clusters and very ornamental, are aromatic, and are used by the natives to season their food. The grounds for some distance round the mountain, are laid out in walks, which are shaded by these trees, and are raised above the level of the surrounding country. The summit of the mountain is crowned with a castle built by the viceroy Galvez. It is fortified on the side next the city, and on the north side there are vast cellars capable of containing several months' provision. It is difficult to imagine the intention of the builder, unless it was to form a citadal, to which he or his successors might retreat in the event of an insurrection. From this castle, now in a state of great dilapidation, we had a view of the whole basin of Mexico. The city was in the front of us, on the south of it the lakes of Xochimilco and Calco. On the north, the smaller lakes of Zumpanco and San Christobal, and a little on the east that of Tezcuco; rich and fertile fields, interspersed with gardens and orchards, intervene, and the aqueducts, which traverse the country on lofty arches, present objects of great beauty and interest. The five great roads leading to the city, are lined with large trees; and the hills covered with cultivated fields and woods, and the whole plain

studded with small towns and well built villages, with their numerous white churches and elevated spires, forming a strong contrast with the craggy and barren mountains that shut in the valley. Beyond these rise the volcanoes of Puebla, the Popocatepetl and the Iztaccihuatl, objects so grand and magnificent, that the eye always rests upon them with renewed delight. We lingered here until we saw this extensive and beautiful landscape mellowed in the shades of twilight, and the last rays of the setting sun refracted in splendid tints from the snowy mountains.

The refraction of the sun's rays from large masses of snow, is beyond description magnificent, and no colouring can do justice to the variety and richness of the tints, which in some situations are thrown upon a whole landscape. The scenes of Mexico and of Switzerland, have only this feature in common, but that is so strikingly beautiful, as frequently to recall my earliest impressions of the sublime and beautiful in natural objects, and to carry me back to that delightful period, when I wandered on foot over the mountains of the Alps.

I found a Frenchman on the terrace making a drawing of the city and valley. He complained very much of its want of picturesque effect; and no wonder, for he had sketched it faithfully, and the fore ground of his picture consisted of a long row of trees and corn fields, without any prominent object. The city was placed at a distance, and barren mountains terminated the view, leaving out altogether the volcanoes. There is a manu-

factory of arms here belonging to the government. The arms made at it are good, but a musket costs from twenty to twenty-five dollars, and a pair of pistols from thirty to thirty-five.

7th.—Paid a visit this morning to the Prince of the Union, the father of the emperor, a respectable and venerable old man, upwards of eighty years of age. He is simple in his manners, and must find his honours very burdensome. We were presented at the same time to her Imperial Highness, his daughter—a plain good sort of a woman, dressed in a dark striped calico gown. I could scarcely restrain a smile, when I gave her the "*tratamiento*" (highness) due to her rank. These people can have no idea, how ridiculous this miserable representation of royalty appears to a republican.

In my walk this morning, under the porticos leading to the principal square, I was struck with the singular exhibition they presented of the busy, the idle, and the devout. The shops were filled with tradesmen and purchasers. Under the porticos were men and women selling fruits and flowers, and wax-work representing with great accuracy the costumes of the country, the work of Indians, and the best of the sort I have ever seen. *Leperos* were leaning against the columns sunning themselves; and beggars and little urchins selling pamphlets and gazettes, followed us with loud clamours. In the midst of this scene of noise and confusion, I observed two women on their knees before a picture of the Virgin, which is enclosed in a glass case, and has always tapers burning be-

fore it. They were abstracted from all that was passing around them, and appeared to be really and devoutly absorbed in prayer. While looking at them and at the crowd, the tinkling of a small bell was heard. It announced the passage of the Host from the cathedral to the death-bed of a sinner. In an instant all was still. Shopkeepers and their customers, leperos and noisy children, all doffed their hats and knelt on the pavement, where they remained until the Host was out of sight, devoutly crossing themselves the while. We then rose, and the hum and bustle and clamour were gradually renewed. We crossed the square, where there are always a number of hackney coaches standing (better I think than the *jarvies* and *fiacres* of London and Paris,) to the statue of Charles IV.; where seated on the steps of the enclosure we found a class of men, who are called *evangelistas*. Their business is to indite memorials and epistles for those who cannot write themselves. Wrapped in his blanket, and furnished with pen and ink and a basket full of paper, the evangelist is ready to furnish letters in verse or prose, to all who apply for them. I listened for some time to one of them, who was writing a letter for a pretty young girl, and was artfully drawing her sentiments from her.

The facility with which these men write is surprising. Memorials to ministers and judges, letters of condolence and congratulation, and epistles breathing love and friendship, succeed each other rapidly, and appear to cost but little effort. Some of them are tolerable improvisatori—a faculty

more common among the people of Spanish America, than it is even among the Italians.

In the afternoon we rode out to the *Paseo des las Vigas*, a raised causeway planted with trees, but not much frequented; a canal runs along this Paseo leading to the lakes of Xochimilco and Chalco, which was crowded with flat bottomed boats and paddling canoes returning from market. We got into one of the former, and two Indians poled us rapidly along the margin of the low meadow land that skirts the canal. We soon reached the village of San Añita, which consists of a few thatched huts, a church and a pulqueria. Here we turned off to view the *chinampas*, gardens of alluvial soil, cultivated by the Indians for the supply of the market of Mexico. The ground is cut into parallelograms, surrounded by narrow ditches. Each parallelogram is four or five hundred feet long, and twenty or thirty wide, and is raised four feet above the surface of the water. The earth taken from the ditches, serves to raise the garden and to manure it. We saw labourers employed in cleaning the ditches and scattering the weeds over the beds. Others were hoeing the ground. They use a wide hoe, weighing four times as much as ours, with a handle not more than two feet and a half long. On these *chinampas*, they cultivate beans and peas, Chile pepper, cauliflowers, artichokes, and a great variety of vegetables and flowers. The soil is a rich vegetable mould, resembling that of our rice swamps, and as it is easy to water these narrow strips of land, they produce with great luxuriance.

A great part of the low land, that intervenes between the lake of Tezcuco and that of Chalco, is laid out in these gardens, and cultivated by the Indians.

I had not leisure to visit the lake of Chalco, but was informed, that floating gardens, such as are described by Baron Humboldt, are still to be seen there. They existed before the conquest, and were made originally by roots and reeds, twigs of brushwood and rushes floating together, and forming rafts, on which the Indians throw earth and weeds raked from the bottom of the lake. These floating chinampas are moved about by means of long poles. It is not surprising that the Mexicans, who were surrounded by hostile tribes, should have constructed the artificial floating gardens described by Clavigero. They were rendered necessary, too, from the frequent inundations to which the city, and nearly the whole valley were subject, before the conquest and previous to the construction of the canal of Huehuetoca. They are no longer in use. The fixed chinampas, which we saw, were bordered with flowers, and were in a high state of cultivation. As we poled along, my attention was frequently diverted from these objects, by a view of the volcanoes of Puebla, which are seen distinctly from this spot. We returned by the canal of La Viga, and continued to meet boats and canoes poled and paddled both by men and women. These Indians are much darker than those of our borders, their hair is straight and glossy, the lips rather thick, the nose small and the eye inclining upwards like that of the Chinese and

Monguls. Their bodies are stout and their limbs nervous. They are not generally tall, but are strong and active. According to our notions of beauty, they are not a well favoured race. The women are not so well formed, have harsh features, and like those in Europe, who are much exposed to the weather and who labour hard, look old and wrinkled very early in life. They have all a melancholy expression, and are remarkably docile and obedient. To the Europeans they are very submissive, and are mild and even polite in their demeanour towards each other. I have not yet witnessed any altercation among them, that bore the semblance of a quarrel. They all talk the Azteck, or Ottomic, and the Spanish, which they speak very purely. I have made them frequently pronounce the name of the capital in their own language, and find they all call it Mexico as we do, and not with the Spanish sound of the x, Mec-hico. We intended to go to the theatre, but first drove to our lodgings to get our sabres, that we might walk home in the evening with safety. This will seem to you a very strange precaution in a civilized country, but it is absolutely necessary. The porter of our house, seeing me go out in the evening when I first arrived, without being armed, remonstrated with me, on what he was pleased to call my rashness; and on inquiry I found, that it was considered imprudent to do so. I was told robberies and assassinations were frequent, and that not less than twelve hundred assassinations had been committed, since the entrance of the revolutionary army into the capital. On looking

over the journal of the first junta, I perceived that these disorders were a frequent subject of debate, and were attributed to the soldiery. I could not learn that any of them had been detected and punished. The city, notwithstanding, is lighted and guarded by watchmen. The lamps are furnished with reverberators—and many of the streets are better lighted, than those of New York or Philadelphia. The boxes of the theatre were filled with well dressed people; the front part of the pit, where there are seats, was occupied by gentlemen, and the back part of it was crowded with common people and soldiers, who are obliged to stand during the whole performance. The theatre is shaped like a horse shoe, the stage being at the smallest end, so that very few of the spectators in the boxes can see the whole of it. A balcony projects from each box, where the ladies display their persons and finery to great advantage. The play was a translation from the French opera of Richard Cœur de Lion, and was most wretchedly performed. His Imperial Majesty sat n a box next to the stage, fitted up very magnificently. His presence did not animate the audience, nor inspire the actors, and the play went off heavily. The boxes are let by the year, some of them at the high price of five hundred dollars, and the best seats in the pit are frequently taken by the year or month.

CHAPTER VIII.

Canal of La Viga—University—State of Learning—Cockpits and Bull Fights —Cigar Manufactory— Monopoly of Tobacco— Church of our Lady of Gaudeloupe—Miraculous Image of the Virgin—Present situation of the City of Mexico—Population.

EARLY in the morning we strolled along the margin of the canal of La Viga, looking at the boats and canoes, loaded with vegetables and ornamented with flowers, passing swiftly along—the Indians striving who should get first to market. We stood on a small bridge that traverses it, and saw a long line of boats in rapid motion on both sides. It was a gay and pleasing sight. After breakfast, in our walk to the library of the cathedral, we passed through the squares where most of the retail shops are situated. They resemble the bazars of the East, and are furnished with every variety of goods, and are thronged with people of all descriptions. They are enclosed, and the gates are shut at night. At the library we found only a tolerable collection of books, and some valuable manuscripts. They consist, however, principally of theological works. One of them contains an account of the state of manufactures in this country, thirty years ago. In it, patterns are preserved, with the prices affixed. Patterns and prices of imported silks, linens and

cottons, are likewise shown; and by this statement it is made to appear, that the same articles manufactured in Mexico at that period, of superior quality, were sold at not more than half the price of those imported. The hieroglyphical paintings are no longer kept here, and we were told we should find them in the office of the secretary of state. We again examined the large stone fixed in the wall of the cathedral. In the centre of it is a head, with the mouth open, the upper part armed with a row of teeth, and the lower part hidden by a long tongue that hangs down below the chin. This is intended to represent the god Tonaliuh, (the sun) and is surrounded by eight triangular radii. The concentric circles and divisions are traced with mathematical exactness. The inner circle next the head, contains the signs of the days; the second, which is in twenty divisions, contains the signs of the zodiac: the next, which is narrower, is in forty divisions; and there are two more circles much wider: the whole curiously carved in relief, very well executed and polished. The stone is a gray trappean porphyry—the basis of basaltic *wakke*. It contains some hornblende, slender crystals of vitreous spar, and sprinklings of mica. It is destitute of quartz. The circles are drawn on one side, and near the edge of the stone, which is of an irregular shape and apparently of great weight.

We next visited the University, where there is a small collection of books; the building is very spacious, and the institution well endowed; but at present there are very few students. The pro-

fessors politely showed us the chapel and whatever we wished to see, except the idol spoken of by Humboldt, as having been discovered at the same time with the calendar and altar. They pointed out the place where it is buried under the portico, and we saw only the hands or claws. The clergy thought it necessary to put out of sight of the Indians, all those objects which might recall their ancient idolatry, and this idol was buried immediately after its discovery. Humboldt obtained an order to have it dug up for his examination; and I refer you to his researches for a description of it.

This university was founded 1551. It is under the government of a rector, who accompanied us in our visit to the different apartments of the building. There have been as many as two hundred students at a time, but the number is now very much diminished. Besides this university, there are inferior colleges, and several large schools, under the direction of the regular clergy. Most of the people in the cities can read and write. I would not be understood as including the *leperos;* but I have frequently remarked men, clothed in the garb of extreme poverty, reading the Gazettes in the streets; of these there are three published every other day in the week, which are sold for twelve and a half cents a piece, and pamphlets and loose sheets are hawked about and sold at a reasonable rate. There are several booksellers' shops, which are but scantily supplied with books. The booksellers have hitherto laboured under all the disadvantages of the prohibitory

system of the catholic church, but are now endeavouring to furnish themselves with the best modern works. The few books to be found in the shops are extravagantly dear. There are several valuable private libraries, and many Creole gentlemen, who have visited Europe, have a taste both for literature and the fine arts. This is certainly more rare among those who have never been out of their own country. The means of education were more limited; and under the colonial system, liberal studies were discouraged. The Latin language, law, theology and philosophy, were taught in the colleges, and only so much of the latter as the clergy thought might be taught with safety. To give you some idea of the influence of this class in the city of Mexico, I will merely observe, that there are five hundred and fifty secular, and sixteen hundred and forty-six regular clergy.

Humboldt says, that in the twenty-three convents of monks in the capital, there are twelve hundred individuals, of whom five hundred and eighty are priests and choristers; and in the fifteen convents of nuns, there are two thousand one hundred individuals, of whom about nine hundred are professed nuns.

In all New Spain, the regular and secular clergy have been estimated at fourteen thousand. As a body, they possess great wealth, but their salaries are very unequal. The annual income of the

Archbishop of Mexico amounts to	$130,000
Bishop of Puebla, ...	110,000
Bishop of Valladolid, ...	100,000

Bishop of Guadalaxara,	$90,000
Bishop of Duranjo,	35,000
Bishop of Monterez,	30,000
Bishop of Yucatan,	20,000
Bishop of Oaxaca,	18,000
Bishop of Sonora,	6,000

whilst the salaries of some curates of Indian villages scarcely exceed one hundred dollars.

The value of the real estates belonging to the clergy, does not exceed two or three millions of dollars; and their proportion of the annual tithes amounts to about one million and a half. Their wealth is derived principally from monies bequeathed to the church for masses or pious uses. These legacies are, for the most part, left as a burthen on the landed estate; and the possessions of almost all the smaller proprietors in Mexico, are mortgaged in whole or in part to the church.

The amount of money in mortmain in Mexico, was, in 1800, forty-four millions five hundred thousand dollars; of this sum the diocese of

Mexico owned	$9,000,000
Puebla,	6,500,000
Valladolid,	4,500,000
Guadalaxara,	3,000,000
Duranjo, Monterez and Sonora,	1,000,000
The regular clergy for pious uses,	2,500,000
Churches and convents throughout Mexico, by bequests for pious uses,	16,000,000
	$42,500,000

On returning, we stopt at the Inquisition, a very extensive building. It was shut up. God grant

it may remain so, or be devoted to other uses. I feel some curiosity to examine the interior of a building appropriated to such a purpose, and have taken the proper steps to obtain admittance. After dinner we went to the cockpit. It was filled with people of all classes eagerly engaged in examining cocks; when two were pitted, brokers went round, calling on the people to bet, and receiving the money, which is laid on a table in heaps, and I was surprised to see men in blankets and rags betting gold. The cocks are armed with slashers, and the contest is soon over. The brokers then go round and pay the winners, who give them a small gratification.

Cock-fighting is a national amusement of Spanish America, and government derives a considerable revenue from the pits. We were soon tired of this butchery, and went to the *Plaza de Toros*, a large circular enclosure appropriated to bull fights. A company of equestrians from the United States, have erected a circus within the area, which is very extensive, and we found them performing feats of horsemanship before an immense crowd of spectators. You have seen, I dare say, a view of the interior of the Plaza de Toros in Madrid. This is exactly similar and nearly as large. There is a circle round the area about five or six feet high, with narrow openings for the tormentors to take refuge in, when pursued by the bull. Over this rise seats one above another for spectators of inferior degree, as they are exposed to the sun. Above these seats are two or three ranges of boxes, generally filled with

well dressed people. These places are calculated to contain two or three thousand spectators, and you cannot conceive a gayer sight than they present on a fine day, when crowded with well dressed women, who manifest rather more interest in the torment and death of a bull, than you, with your prejudices, would think becoming in the fair sex.

9th November.—Went this morning to the Cigar Manufactory, a very large building situated near the suburbs of the city. Here we found five or six hundred persons employed making up *cigarros* and *puros*. The first are made of tobacco cut into small pieces and rolled up in paper; *puros* are what we call cigars, made of tobacco only. Under the government of Spain, the monopoly of tobacco was a very profitable branch of revenue. All the tobacco that was gathered could be sold only to government, and to prevent frauds, as far as possible, the cultivation was concentrated in one point. Orizaba and Cordova, were the only districts where it was permitted to be raised. Plantations without the boundaries of the privileged districts, were destroyed. The government farmed out the sale of the manufactured tobacco, and cigars were sold only at royal *estaneos*. No one dared to smoke cigars of his own manufacturing. This monopoly yielded to the crown from four to four and a half millions of dollars annually, a fund which was always remitted entire to the treasury of the king of Spain. The expences of the administration of this department amounted to about eight hundred thousand dollars annually.

Returning, we heard the clock strike twelve; every one stopped, pulled off his hat and prayed a short prayer or was supposed to do so. The solemn stillness that succeeds the bustle of a crowded street at this moment, is very striking. The carriages and carts, people on horseback or on foot, all stand still, business is suspended, and every noise is hushed at the first sound of the bell. In most catholic countries this ceremony is observed at the hour of vespers, "*La Oracion*," but this is the first place where I have seen the people generally pray at noon. There is no country in Europe or America, where the superstitious forms of worship are more strictly observed than in Mexico. The Indians, who were with difficulty won from their idolatry, love to blend the superstition of their former worship with the rites of the catholic church. They are fond of pageants and processions; and frequently represent the nativity, the crucifixion, and other sacred mysteries of our holy religion. This disposition to represent heavenly things by sensible images, is common in all catholic countries. I have seen theatrical representations of the nativity in Rome. They tell us that the distinction between the sign and thing signified is never lost sight of; but I cannot believe this to be true of the ignorant multitude in Rome, or of the poor Indians in Mexico.

The Indians are particularly fond of appearing in processions, clothed in the armour and other habiliments of the followers of Cortes. This dress is associated, in their minds, with majesty and

power, and they delight to ride on a war horse, armed from head to heel with helmet and mail.

We rode in the afternoon to the magnificent church of Nuestra Señora de Guadeloupe, built on the barren rocky hill of Tepeyacac, a short distance from the city. We passed over a fine *calzada*, or paved causeway, constructed originally to dam out the water of the lake of Tezcuco, as well as to serve for a road. At the time of the conquest there were four of these dykes that led from the city to terra firma. Cortes represents them to have been two leagues long, and of the breadth of two lances. Those we know of are the *Calzadas* of *Tepeyacac*, (Guadeloupe,) *Tlacopan* (Tacuba,) and *Iztapalapan*. Humboldt supposes the other to have led to Chapoltepec.

The church of Guadeloupe, which possesses a miraculous picture of the Virgin, is richly ornamented. We found a priest near the altar, with a table before him covered with silver medals of the Virgin, which he sold at a high price: talismans to be worn round the necks of the faithful. The history of the miraculous discovery of this picture is related in a huge folio, which I never will read. We were told, that it appeared to a peasant, and ordered him to impart what he had seen to the archbishop of Mexico. He approached the palace, but was intimidated by the state and magnificence that surrounded the prelate, and retired without obeying the orders of the Virgin. On his return, he again saw the vision, which rebuked him for his disobedience. He asked for some token to shew that his mission was divine,

and on the next day he found the barren rock of Tepeyacac covered with beautiful flowers. He was ordered to gather them, to present them to the archbishop, and to relate what he had seen. He obtained admittance to the palace, and, in obedience to orders, related all he had seen, presented the flowers, and told where he had gathered them. The tale so corroborated, obtained instant credit: a procession proceeded to Tepeyacac, and the image of the Virgin was discovered. This church was immediately built and munificiently endowed, and the picture has wrought and continues to work many miracles. At a short distance from the church there is a small chapel and a spring of mineral water.

There are two springs of mineral water in the basin of Mexico. This of Guadeloupe, and the *Penon de los Banos.* These waters contain carbonic acid, sulphate of lime and soda, and muriate of soda. That of the Penon is very warm. There are, I understand, baths constructed for the convenience of invalids, which are much frequented. Near the Penon there are salt works, although the water after the earth is washed does not contain more than twelve or thirteen per cent. of salt.

The process is very simple. A mound of earth is formed about twenty feet high, on the top of which a hole is dug, somewhat in the shape of a boiler. A long reed is thrust through the bottom, so as to communicate with a receiver. Earth, dug from the low grounds on the margin of the lake of

Tezcuco, is thrown into a hole, and water poured upon it, which drains into the receiver below. This liquor is transported into close huts, where it is submitted to the action of heat. The salt made by this process is very impure, but sells for a dollar the arroba (twenty-five lbs).

The time of my departure is so near that it will be impossible for me to visit this place. It is a subject of infinite regret to me, that notwithstanding all my diligence, I shall leave much undone, and many of the most interesting objects in the valley unseen. What I particularly regret not having time to visit, are the remains of the pyramids of Teotihuacan, situated on the north-east side of the lake of Tezcuco.

To see whatever is worthy of the observation of a traveller, would require a residence of at least three months. I must depart to-morrow or the next day, so you will have but a meagre account of the capital and of the beautiful valley of Anahuac. I refer you back to Humboldt, who has seen every thing, and described every thing with wonderful minuteness and accuracy; and I exhort you to have patience with his erudite digressions. Connect all the facts in his "Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne," and you will acquire, if not a perfect knowledge of this country, certainly a much better idea of it than you can of any other country, from any other book of travels.

I have examined, as far as my time would admit, the present situation of Mexico, and compared it with the accounts given by Cortes, and

am convinced that the new city was erected on the site of the old, and that the waters of the lake have retired and been dried up.

In his letter to Charles the Fifth, dated 30th October, 1520, Cortes says—"of the two large lakes in this valley, one is salt and the other fresh. The great city of Temixtitlan stands in the middle of the salt lake, which has its tides like the ocean. The distance from the city to terra firma is two leagues, on whichever side you enter it." The city is now fourteen thousand seven hundred and sixty-three feet from the lake. Many causes have contributed to this change. Cortes, in his third letter, after detailing the great difficulties he had encountered in the siege, says—"I agreed to adopt a plan for our security, and in order to straiten our enemies still more; and it was, that as we were advancing by the streets of the city, they should be throwing down all the houses on both sides of them: so that we should not advance a step forward without leaving every thing destroyed, and converting that which was water into dry land; let the delay that would attend it be what it might." In this work he was assisted by more than fifty thousand Indians, all eager to aid in destroying the empire of the Aztecks.

The southern and western sides of the lake were at all times the most shallow. The evaporation, always very great, was increased, while the fall of water was diminished, by cutting down the trees in the valley. The necessity of piling for the foundations of the houses, and the demand for building timber, occasioned the destruction of all

the forest trees; and the Spaniards, accustomed in their own country to want of wood and shade, have never planted. As the waters receded, the land was drained for chinampas; and this culture contributed still more to reclaim the soil. New dykes were constructed to dam out the waters, and to prevent the town from being inundated, and every means resorted to in order to render the streets of the city high and dry, and proper for the passage of carriages. What contributed most to this end was the canal of Huehuetoca, constructed for the purpose of draining the lakes of Zumpango and Christoval. Before the completion of this work, the waters of these lakes, by several feet the highest in the valley, flowed, in the season of rains, into the Tezcuco. The canal is pierced through the hill of Nochistongo, the lowest point in the circle of the mountains that shut in the valley; and their waters now flow into the river Tula, and so by the Panuco into the Atlantic. In riding round the city it is easy to distinguish the low meadow land formerly covered by water. The salt still effloresces on the surface; and it appears to me that the former limits of the lake might still be traced.

They point out to travellers a small bridge near Bonauvista, as the spot where Alvarado, on the melancholy night of the retreat, made a leap that amazed his pursuers, clearing at a bound a canal that intersected the causeway. But if this spot were nearer the city than it is, it would not prove that the site of it had been changed. The story of the leap of Alvarado was treated as

fabulous, even in the time of Cortes; and the tradition of the precise spot must be at least doubtful. The cathedral now stands on the ground formerly occupied by the teocalli of the Aztecks. Of this fact the most undoubted proofs exist in the discoveries lately made in excavating the great square. Any one who examines the stones and idols which were dug up near the cathedral, will be convinced, from their great weight, that the conquerors did not remove them far from the temple to which they belonged. The palace of the Marquis del Valle is built on the site of that of Montezuma. The teocalli and the palace of Montezuma, were nearly in the centre of the ancient city of Tenochtitlan. The palace of the Marquis del Valle, the government-house built by Cortes opposite the residence of the Mexican monarch, and the cathedral, stand in the same relative position, and are nearly in the centre of the modern city of Mexico.

The dimensions of the valley or basin of Mexico, which is of an oval form, as given by Baron Humboldt, are eighteen and one-third leagues in length, and twelve and a half in breadth; and the contents two hundred and forty-four and a half square leagues: of which space, the lakes occupy twenty-two square leagues: less than one-tenth of the whole surface.

The circumference of the valley, reckoning from the crest of the mountains, which surround it like a circular wall, is sixty-seven leagues. I have never viewed it, without being persuaded, that the whole valley has once been a vast lake,

and that the insulated hills of Chapoltepec, Penon de los Banos, and others, that rise out of the plain, have been islands in the midst of the waters.*

* Cortes, in his letter to Charles V., represents it to have been so at the time of the conquest; he says:

"The province which constitutes the principal territory of Montezuma, is circular and entirely surrounded by lofty and rugged mountains: and the circumference of it is fully seventy leagues, and in this plain there are two lakes which nearly occupy the whole of it, as the people use canoes for more than fifty leagues round. And one of these lakes is of fresh water, and the other, which is larger, is of salt water. They are divided on one side, by a small collection of very high hills, which stand in the centre of this plain, and at last the aforesaid lakes unite in a level strait, formed between these hills and the high mountains; which strait is a gun-shot wide, and between one lake and another, and the cities and other settlements which are in these lakes, the people communicate together in their canoes by water, without the necessity of going by land. And as this great salt lake ebbs and flows with the tide* as the sea does, in every flood the water flows from it into the other fresh lake as impetuously as if it were a large river, and consequently at the ebb the fresh lake flows into the salt.

"This great city of Temixtitlan (meaning Tenochtitlan) is founded in this salt lake, and from terra firma to the body of the city, the distance is two leagues on whichever side they please to enter it. It has four entrances, causeways made by the hand of man as wide as two horseman's lances. The city is as large as Seville and Cordova. The streets, I mean the principal ones, are very wide, and others very narrow; and some of the latter, and all the others, are one half land and the other half in water, along which the inhabitants go in their canoes: and all the streets at

* The currents on the lakes, which Cortes mistakes for the ebb and flow of the tide, depend upon the winds. It is found on our lakes, that when the wind blows from the West, so as to drive the water into the Eastern extremity of the lake, and raise that part of it above the mean level, the current begins to flow in an opposite direction along the margin of the lake; and vice versâ, when the wind is from the East.

The population of the city appears, from the several censuses that have been taken, to have fluctuated very much. That of 1790, gave only

given distances are open, so that the water passes from one to the other; and in all these openings, some of which are very wide, there are very wide bridges, made of large massive beams joined together and well wrought; and so wide, that ten horsemen may pass abreast over many of them."

Humboldt, in describing the present state of the valley, says: "The surface of the four principal lakes, occupies nearly one-tenth part of the whole valley, or twenty-two square leagues. The lakes of Xochimilco and Chalco six; that of Tezcuco ten and one-tenth; that of San Christobal three and six-tenths; and that of Zumpango one and three-tenths square leagues. The valley of Mexico is a basin, surrounded by a circular wall of lofty porphyritic mountains; and all the humidity furnished by them, unites in the valley, out of which no river flows, except the small rivulet Tequisquiac, which, through a narrow ravine, passes the northern chain of the mountains, and falls into the river Tula, or Montezuma.

"The principal streams of the valley, are the rivers *Papalotla*, *Tezcuco*, *Teotihuacan* and *Tepeyacac*, which flow into the lake of Tezcuco; aud those of *Pachuca* and *Guautitlan*, which fall into that of Zumpango. The Guautitlan is the longest, indeed it is more considerable than all the rest put together. The Mexican lakes, which are so many natural recipients in which the torrents deposit the water of the surrounding mountains, rise by degrees as they recede from the centre of the valley, or of the site where the capital is placed. After the lake of Tezcuco, the city of Mexico is the least elevated point of the whole valley. According to the very exact level of Velasquez and Castera, the principal square of Mexico is one yard one foot and one inch higher than the mean level of the waters of the lake of Tezcuco. This lake is four yards eight inches lower than the lake of San Christobal, the northern part of which is called the lake of Xaltocan. On this part are situated, on two small islands, the villages of Xaltocan and Tonatitla. The lake of San Christobal properly so called, is separated from that of Xaltocan by a very ancient causeway, which leads to the villages of San Pablo, and San Thomas de Chiconautla. The most northern lake

one hundred and twelve thousand nine hundred and twenty-six inhabitants.

Humboldt estimates it, in 1801, at one hundred and thirty-seven thousand; and divides it into

2,500 white Europeans,
65,000 white Creoles,
33,000 Indians,
26,500 Mestizoes,
10,000 Mulattoes.

137,000

Of this number, he calculates two thousand three hundred and ninety-two clergy, monks and nuns. A subsequent census, made the population amount to one hundred and sixty thousand souls. One still later, reduced it to one hundred and twenty-six thousand. From all the information I could obtain, I am disposed to estimate the actual population at between one hundred and fifty and one hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants.

The extent of the city is computed to be a square of between three and four miles; and it is compactly built up.

of the valley of Mexico, that of Zumpango, is ten yards one foot and six inches higher than the mean level of the waters of Tezcuco. A causeway divides it into two basins, the most western of which bears the name of *Laguna de Zitlaltepec*—the eastern, that of *Laguna de Coyotopec*. The lake of Chalco is at the southern extremity of the valley. It encloses the pretty little village Xico, situated on an island. It is separated from the lake Xochimilco by a narrow causeway, which leads from Tuliagualca to San Francisco Tlalsingo. The level of the fresh water lakes, of Chalco and Xochimilco, is only one yard and eleven inches higher than the square of the city."

CHAPTER IX.

Commerce—Manufactures—Revenue—Population—Military Force.

Under the colonial government, the communications between Mexico and Europe and Asia, were confined to the ports of Vera Cruz and Acapulco, so that the principal roads in the kingdom were from the capital to those ports, and along the table land, N.NW. to Santa Fé, and S.SW. to Oaxaca and Guatemala. The latter, which may be called longitudinal, are not intersected by many mountains, rivers, or ravines, and are travelled over in wheel carriages; but even on these roads merchandise and produce are transported on mule-back. Notwithstanding the labour and expense bestowed upon the roads from Vera Cruz and Acapulco to Mexico, they are still very bad, and the transportation of merchandise and produce over them, will for years be difficult and costly.

According to Humboldt, the distance in a direct line from the capital to Vera Cruz, is sixty-nine leagues; to Acapulco sixty-six leagues; to Oaxaca seventy-nine leagues; to Santa Fé, in New Mexico, four hundred and forty leagues.

The roads to Vera Cruz and Acapulco are the most frequented, and even under the restrictive colonial system, the value of the precious metals, agricultural products, and European and Asiatic merchandise, which flowed along these two routes, amounted annually to the sum of sixty-five millions of dollars.

Baron Humboldt asserts, that with the advantages of good roads and free commerce, the Mexicans will one day undersell us in bread corn, in the West Indies and other markets. This opinion appears to me to have been advanced without due consideration. The soil of the table land is certainly as fertile and as productive as any lands in the United States. But the elevation of those plains from the ocean, opposes an insuperable obstacle to the cheap transportation of its produce to the sea coast. The Baron himself has shewn the impracticability of cutting a canal from the table land to the port of Tampico, the only route ever deemed practicable for a water communication with the ocean, by the most sanguine projectors in Mexico. The communications between these elevated plains and the Pacific Ocean are more practicable, but have nothing to do with this question. As the road is now laid out between Las Vigas and Vera Cruz, the ascents are too rapid; but admitting the roads to Tampico and Vera Cruz to be as perfect as it is possible to make them, and the flour, instead of being conveyed as it is now, packed up in skins and on mules, to be barrelled and waggoned three hundred miles to those ports—still, I hesitate not to

assert, that the superior fertility of the soil and cheapness of labour, will not compensate for the difference between land and water carriage, and that flour might be brought from the Genessee country, in the state of New York, by the canal, shipped at the port of New York for either Tampico or Vera Cruz, and sold there at a lower rate than the flour of the table land—especially as three-fourths of the waggons must necessarily return empty, even if all the dry goods consumed on the table land were to be sent from these ports. They bear no proportion to the bulk and weight of bread corn, and all those articles which we call colonial produce, are equally the growth of the table land and the *tierra caliente*. A small quantity of wine and brandy are consumed by the wealthy, but the ordinary drink of the people is the rum of the country, *pulque*, and *vino mezcal*, the brandy of the Maguey.

From want of streams, the mills in Mexico are for the most part worked by animal power, and are in every respect inferior to our flour mills. I have no doubt that if the importation of flour were permitted, we would for many years, be able to undersell the Mexicans in their own markets, and to furnish with flour all the country below the table land on the eastern coast. The principal objects of the internal commerce of Mexico, are the rich productions of Oaxaca, Cochenille and Vanilla, which are transported to the capital and Vera Cruz. The Indian corn and flour of Mexico, Guadalaxara, Valladolid, Gua-

naxuato, San Luis Potosi, Puebla, Oaxaca and Vera Cruz, which are transported to the less fertile provinces—drugs, and above all, the precious metals.

Now that commerce will be allowed to take its natural course, it is probable that the cochenille, vanilla, and other productions of Oaxaca, will seek an outlet by the river and port of Guasacualco. Indeed it is probable that for some time the indigo and other produce of Guatemala might be exported along the coast, and across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. The proximity of the two seas at this spot, and the river Guasacualco, afforded the first conquerors the means of transporting across the continent the necessary materials for constructing and arming ships; and the first expedition fitted out to explore the Gulph of California, sailed from Tehuantepec. This isthmus has been examined with a view to the construction of a canal to connect the two seas, and the engineer, Cramer, affirms that the chain of low mountains, which separate the two bays, is intersected by a transversal valley, in which a canal might be cut, so as to form a communication between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. This canal, which would unite the waters of the rivers Chimalapa with those of Passo, would be only six leagues long. Boats could then ascend by a good navigation from Tehuantepec to the village of San Miguel, and pass through the canal to the river Passo. This river falls into the Guasacualco, but its navigation is impeded by seven rapids.

A route is now open from Tehuantepec by Chihuitan, Llamo Grande, Santa Maria, Petapa, and Guchicoui, to a landing place on the river Passo, below the rapids, and at its junction with the river Saravia. The port of Guasacualco is represented by all who have examined it, to be capacious, and very secure. The accounts respecting the depth of water on the bar vary very much, but a frigate, driven by a gale of wind from its anchorage in the port of Vera Cruz, took refuge there, and afterwards got out without difficulty. The port of Tehuantepec hardly deserves the name; none but small vessels can pass the bar, and without, they are exposed in an open roadstead. The sands brought down by the Chimalapa increase the bar every year, and the town of Tehuantepec is now four leagues from the sea.

On the side of the Pacific Ocean, San Blas will probably soon become a port of great importance. The rich products of Guanaxuato and Guadalaxara, can be more easily transported to the coast by the river Santiago, and that part of the country can be supplied with Asiatic merchandise at a cheaper rate by that route.

Baron Humboldt gives the following as a mean of several years of the exports from Vera Cruz:

Gold and Silver coined and wrought,	$ 17,000,000
Cochenille, ...	2,400,000
Sugar, ...	1,300,000
Flour of different sorts, . .	300,000
Indigo, ...	280,000

Provisions,	100,000
Tanned Leather,	80,000
Sarsaparilla,	90,000
Vanilla,	60,000
Jalap,	60,000
Soap,	50,000
Campeche Wood,	40,000
Pimento of Tobasco,	30,000

The imports, according to the same author, embrace the following articles:

Paper, (three hundred thousand reams,)	$1,000,000
Linens, Cottons, Woollens and Silks,	9,200,000
Brandies,	1,000,000
Cacao,	1,000,000
Quicksilver,	650,000
Iron,	600,000
Steel,	200,000
Wine,	700,000
Wax,	300,000
The importations by Vera Cruz, estimated at	15,000,000
The exportations by that port, estimated at	22,000,000

The official statement of the Consulado of Vera Cruz, made the exportations of 1802, amount,

in precious metals, to	$48,800,000
In agricultural products,	9,147,000
Total	57,947,000
The importations of that year amounted to	24,100,000

In 1803, the exports were in precious metals, ...	$15,554,000
In agricultural products, . . .	5,368,000
Total	20,922,000
The importations amounted to .	22,975,000

The enormous sum of 48,800,000 dollars, exported in 1802, was accumulated during the war, and the diminution, in 1803, was occasioned by the expectation that hostilities would shortly be renewed.

Acapulco is one of the finest harbours in the world, but its trade has hitherto been very inconsiderable. It consisted before the revolution of one galleon, loaded with muslins, printed calicoes, coarse cottons, silk, silk stockings, and plate, and jewellery made at Canton and Manilla, spices, and aromatics, amounting to the value of 1,500,000 dollars. The returns were made in precious metals, amounting to about 1,000,000 of dollars, some cochenille, cacao, wine, oil, and woollens from Spain.

In order to have a just idea of the commerce of Mexico, it is necessary to state, that the amount of goods smuggled annually into the ports on the Gulph, was estimated at 4,500,000 dollars, and not less than 2,500,000 dollars were supposed to be annually smuggled out of the country, in plate, and bars, and ingots of gold and silver.

The situation of the towns on the table land in Mexico, so far removed from the coast, and separated from it by rugged mountains, over which merchandise can only be transported on mule-

back, encouraged the establishment of manufactures, and even rendered them necessary to the comfort of the inhabitants of these elevated plains.

Prior to the conquest, the natives were clothed in stuffs of their own manufacture; and a people accustomed to spin and weave cotton, however rudely, were soon taught to manufacture woollen and cotton cloths after the European methods.

Although the Spanish colonial system did not encourage manufactures, and although the influence of the ministry was sometimes exerted to repress their establishment, there were no prohibitory laws against them. In time of war the want of communication with the mother country, and the restrictive system which excluded the commerce of strangers, favoured the establishment of fine manufactures—whilst the low price of the raw material enabled them to manufacture coarse articles at as low a rate as they could be imported from Spain.

The value of the manufacturing industry is estimated at seven or eight millions of dollars per annum. The Intendancy of Guadalaxara alone, which produces cotton and wool in great abundance, furnished, in 1802, cotton and woollen cloths, to the value of 1,601,200 dollars; tanned leather to the value of 418,900 dollars, and 268,400 dollars' worth of soap.

The value of the cotton manufactured in Puebla, amounts to 1,500,000 dollars. These cloths are woven principally by separate looms in Puebla, Cholula, Huexocingo, and Tlascala; for there are

few manufacturing establishments in this part of the country.

The earliest manufactory of cotton in this country, was established at Tezcuco in 1592; but this branch of industry has passed principally into the hands of the Indians, and castes, of the provinces of Guadalaxara, Puebla, and Queretaro.

There are scarcely any silk manufactories in Mexico. The silk handkerchiefs, which are wrought by the Indians of Misteca, and of the village Tistla near Chilpansingo, are made of the silk of an indigenous worm, not from that of the Bombyx mori.

The most profitable manufacture in Mexico, is that of tobacco. The value of manufactured tobacco in 1802, was $7,686,834

Expense of manufacture .	1,285,193	
Salaries of officers . . .	794,586	
Price of the tobacco bought of the farmers	594,229	
		2,674,008
Nett revenue,		5,012,826

The most extensive manufactories of this article, are at Mexico and Queretaro. In the latter city, there are about three thousand people employed, nineteen hundred of whom are women. They manufacture every month about 2,500,000 small boxes of paper cigars, (cigarros) and 290 of cigars, (puros,) the value of which is about 185,300 dollars. The monthly expenses are 31,789 dollars. The annual value of puros and cigarros manufactured there, is estimated at 2,200,000 dollars.

The manufacture of gunpowder, was a royal monopoly; but the price at the royal fabric was so high, that it is believed three-fourths of that used in the mines, were manufactured contrary to law. The manufactory of gunpowder, is at Santa Fé, in the valley of Mexico, three leagues from the capital.

In all the towns, hats, shoes, and saddlery are manufactured, and there are several potteries. One of the most flourishing trades is that of silversmith, and numbers of this craft are to be found in every town and city in Mexico. The quantity of plate manufactured for the churches is immense, and private individuals use more silver vessels than the same class of people in the United States. This arises from the want of manufactures of glass and china, and from the expense and risk of its transportation from the coast to the table land.

In the capital they manufacture gold and silver thread for embroidery, in which these people excel. In 1803, the manufactured gold amounted to three hundred and eighty-five marks, and that of silver to twenty-six thousand eight hundred and three.

There are, likewise, within the city, a manufactory of playing cards, and one of coarse printed cottons. They are stamped by means of pewter plates, fourteen inches square. The principal workmen in this establishment earn between four and five dollars a day. These coarse cottons sell for two dollars a cut of five yards. A better quality is manufactured in the United States for from seventeen to twenty cents a yard.

The coarse cotton cloths of the United States are in great demand in this country, from their superior strength and durability ; and whenever the tariff of Mexico is so revised, as to levy a duty on the article, according to its value, our manufactures will become an important article of commerce.

Hats of the best quality are manufactured in the city of Mexico, and boots, shoes, and saddlery, of very good leather, and excellent workmanship.

The furniture is for the most part of cedar and pine, and is coarsely and clumsily made. Coaches are extremely well made, and although rather heavy, are handsomely painted and varnished.

The manufactures have suffered very much ; and, on comparing their present state with what they are represented to have been by Baron Humboldt, their produce must have diminished, from eight millions, which they yielded annually at that time, to little more than four.

As no detailed account of the receipts and expenditures of the government has been made public, it is extremely difficult to form a correct idea of the resources of this country. They are derived—

1st. From duties on imports and exports, which are levied according to a tariff hastily drawn up and full of errors : and in consequence of the high duties, and of the arbitrary manner of exacting them, goods to a great amount are smuggled into the country. A plan for the collection of duties was formed by a committee of the sovereign junta, immediately after the installation of that body.

It bears evident marks of the haste in which it was framed. A duty of twenty-five per cent. ad valorem is exacted on all goods imported. On most of the articles of import, the value is fixed by the tariff, and the residue are valued by the appraisers. The tariff does not make the necessary distinction between fine and coarse goods, bearing the same name, so that our manufactures of cotton, which are very saleable, and which would yield a good profit if fairly valued, paid the same duty as those of the finest quality. This amounts almost to a prohibition.

Tobacco in leaf, snuff and cigars, pay a duty of two dollars a pound.

The introduction of the following articles is prohibited:

Cotton unmanufactured — Wrought wax — Pastes, macaroni, vermicelli, &c. &c.—Gold, silver and silk lace—Cotton yarn, below No. 60—Cotton tapes.

The following articles may be imported free of duty: Quicksilver—all sorts of scientific and surgical instruments—all unbound books: but prohibiting the importation of all such as are contrary to good morals, and to the catholic religion—Plans, drawings, and prints for models of painting, and sculpture, and architecture—Models and designs for teaching the different arts; but, prohibiting the importation of all such drawings, prints, &c. as are contrary to religion and good morals—Every kind of useful machinery, either for agricultural purposes, for mining, or the arts—Music, printed or manuscript—Exotic

seeds or plants—Flax, raw or prepared—Living animals.

The following articles pay an export duty:

Coined gold, ...	2 per cent.
Wrought do.	1
In pasta do.	3
Coined silver, ...	3½ per 100
Wrought do.	3
In pasto do.	5½
Cochenille, first quality, valued at 60 dollars the arroba, 25 lbs. .	6
Do, second quality, 18 dollars the arroba, ...	6
Do. third quality, 10 dollars the arroba, ...	6

Vanilla valued at 40 dollars the 1000, 10 per 1000.

All other produce of the country may be exported free of duty.

2dly. From Alcabalas, a duty varying from 2½ to 12½ per cent. upon every transfer of property, and upon all goods, which is levied in every town through which they pass, if exposed to sale.

This tax is highly injurious to the internal commerce of the country. It interrupts the regular course of trade, obliging the merchant to keep his goods, in the first town where they are exposed for sale, even if there is no demand for them. If he removes them to another where the market is good, he is again compelled to pay the alcabala.

3dly. From the tax on the produce of the mines, the coinage and seigniorage. At present this does not produce much.

Previous to the late revolution, one-tenth of the gold and silver was paid to government; but, with a view to encourage the working of the mines, this tax has been reduced to two rials for each mark, or $\frac{1}{32}$. It is difficult to ascertain, with any exactness, what has been the amount of gold and silver extracted from the mines since the first revolutionary movement. The seat of war lay between the principal mines and the capital; and it became necessary to establish mints in their immediate neighbourhood. They coin silver now at Guanaxuato, Guadalaxara, and Zacatecas. Statements from these mints could not be procured.

In 1809, the year before the insurrection, there was coined at the mint of Mexico, $1,464,818 in gold, and $24,708,164 2½ in silver; making a total of $26,172,982 2½.

In 1812, not more than $4,409,266 were coined at that mint.

After that insurrection was suppressed, the amount gradually increased; and in 1819 there was coined, $539,377 in gold, and $11,491,138 5 in silver: total, $12,030,513.

In 1820, it began to diminish: there was coined in that year, $509,076 in gold; in silver, $9,897,078 1: total, $10,406,154 1: and in 1821, only $303,504 in gold; in silver, $5,600,082 3¼; in copper, $12,700; total, $5,916,226 3½.

It is not probable that the coinage at all the other mints ever exceeded one million and a half annually. The miners, especially those of Guanaxuato, prefer sending their silver to Mexico, because it contains a portion of gold, which can

there be separated; whereas, there is no apparatus for that purpose at any of the other mints.

The coinage of the present year will fall a little short of that of the last.

The water gains upon the mines daily; the roads have become more insecure; the public confidence in the good faith of the government is shaken; and the miner cannot, as formerly, receive immediately, the value of the silver he deposits at the mint—the fund destined for that purpose having been used for the exigencies of the state. He is now obliged to leave it for three months in the mint. In the present state of the country, the mines must remain comparatively unproductive. To work them advantageously, requires a large capital, which few are now disposed to venture on any speculation; they are even reluctant to disclose to the public that they possess much money.

The other branches of revenue, are the monopoly of tobacco, the excise on pulque and on ice, the sale of papal indulgences, the post-office, monopoly of gunpowder and playing cards, cock-pits, a per centage on the revenue of the clergy, called *mesada* and *media anata*, stamps *temporalidades*, (revenues derived from the confiscated estates of the Jesuits)—the revenues of the estate belonging to the descendants of Fernando Cortes, Marquis del Valle, now administered on account of the government, and one-ninth of the tithes. The tithes of America, were granted to the King of Spain by Pope Alexander the Sixth. One-ninth is retained for profane uses, and the residue

is employed in maintaining the clergy and keeping in repair the churches. It is a most oppressive tax on the people, from the manner of raising it. Some of the writers of this country affirm, that it amounts to forty-two per cent. on the annual produce of the farms.

From these sources, the revenue of New Spain, in 1803, amounted to $20,075,261; and after deducting the expenses of collection, which were $6,190,927, there remained a nett revenue of $13,884,336.

The annual expenses of the government at that period, did not exceed $7,886,329.

It is not surprising that in a state of revolution, the expenses of the government should have increased, and the receipts have diminished.

The debt of the former government, which was assumed by the nation, amounted to thirty-six millions. That accumulated since, by acknowledged claims, and by forced loans, the means resorted to in order to make up deficiencies, amounts to about twenty-five millions, making a national debt of sixty-one millions of dollars.

The civil list is very great; and the number of persons employed in the various branches of the administration augments the expenses of the government excessively. In 1803, the expenses of collecting the revenue amounted to $44\frac{6}{10}$ per cent.; and the abuses of that day have not been reformed.

The agriculture of the kingdom certainly suffered during the wars of the revolution. The most fertile provinces were the theatre of all the

revolutionary movements; and a great deal of capital employed in agriculture, was destroyed during that period: but, although the buildings are in ruins, yet the country appears to be cultivated as extensively and as carefully as ever.

Taking the data and the calculations of Baron Humboldt to be correct, and admitting the agricultural produce to have amounted at that time to 29,000,000 dollars; it is not probable, that it will now fall very far short of that sum.

The principal causes of the diminution of the public revenue can be traced to the state of the mines. They yielded a nett revenue of $5,000,000 at the mint.

The alcabalas yielded $ 2,888,356, the principal part of which was paid on the precious metals. For in a country without water carriage and without good roads, where all the traffic is carried on by mules, the internal commerce can never be very great, and the precious metals and a few articles, such as cochenille, indigo, vanilla, sugar, and drugs, will alone bear the charge of distant carriage on mule-back.

This is so true, that in 1802, of the exports from Vera Cruz, amounting to $33,866,219, $25,564,574 were of the precious metals, $3,368,557 cochenille, $3229 indigo, and $1,454,240 sugar.*

It is obvious, therefore, that as the principal

* Whenever the method of cleaning cotton by machinery is introduced into Mexico, it will probably form a considerable article of export, for it is of a very good quality.

article of export diminishes, the imports will be lessened. The precious metals are not to be considered in this country merely as the medium of exchange. They are the produce of the earth. Their creation employs a great deal of labour, and causes a large tract of country to be cultivated for the supply of those labourers. The active operation of the mines afforded an extensive and certain market to the agriculturist, and produced an article of exchange for foreign productions, that would bear the accumulated charges of land carriage, alcabalas, and export duty.

In order to comprehend what the resources of this country would be under a well organized government, and a well constituted state of society, it will be proper to take a view of what they were prior to the revolution, and before the destruction of the mining establishments, and the devastation of the country.

The whole revenue of New Spain was, in 1808, estimated at twenty millions of dollars, fourteen millions of which were absorbed in the expenses of the administration and subsidies to Puerto Rico and Cuba, and the remaining six millions were remitted to the royal treasury of Spain.

The sources of the Revenue were:

One-tenth of the produce of the mines and seignorage, ...	$3,516,000
Profit on the monopoly of quicksilver,	536,000
Profit of the mint, ...	1,500,000
Amount carried forward	$5,552,000

Amount brought forward,	$5,552,000
Monopoly of tobacco,	4,500,000
Alcabala,	3,200,000
Tribute paid by the Indians,	1,300,000
Excise on pulque,	800,000
Almoxarifazgo, (on imports and exports)	500,000
Cruzada, (sale of bulls or papal indulgencies)	270,000
Post-office,	250,000
Sale of Gunpowder,	150,000
Mesada and media anata of the clergy,	100,000
Monopoly of the sale of playing cards,	120,000
Stamps,	80,000
Cockpits,	45,000
Excise on ice,	30,000
Revenues from the Temporalidades, and monies left for pious uses under the inspection of government,	1,897,128
Revenue in 1803,	$18,794,128

The mines furnished upwards of one-fourth of the revenue. Deducting this sum, and that paid for the tribute of Indians, and the result will give about three dollars and a quarter per head, for each Creole. The alcabala alone, amounted to rather more than one dollar and one-fourth per head.

The expenses of collection in some instances amounted to $44\frac{6}{10}$ per cent. and averaged 25 per cent.

The following budget of New Spain will give an idea of the expenditures.

Employment of the Receipts.

The Receipts are stated at . .		$20,000,000

The expenses of the Interior Administration, are divided as follows :

War Department.

Regular army, . .	$ 1,800,000	
Militia, ...	350,000	
Frontier posts, ...	1,200,000	
Fortress of Perote, . .	200,000	
Marine docks at San Blas and port arsenals, . .	450,000	
		4,000,000
Salaries of the Viceroy, Intendants, and Clerks employed in the administration of the Treasury, . . .		2,000,000
Expenses of the administration of the Judiciary, ...		300,000
Prisons and Hospitals, ...		400,000
Pensions, ...		250,000
Expenses of the administration of Tobacco with those of the royal manufactories; purchase of the raw material and repairs of public buildings, ...		3,550,000
Monies sent annually to other Spanish colonies, *(Situados,)*		350,000
Monies remitted to the royal treasury of Spain, ...		6,000,000
		$20,000,000

The Count Revellagigedos's report to the King, in 1793, represented the population of Mexico,

from the census then completed, with the exception of Guadalaxara and Vera Cruz—the number of whose inhabitants was conjectured to be 4,483,529; of these, 2,319,741 were Indians,

7,904	Europeans,
677,458	white Creoles,
1,478,426	Castes.
Total, 4,483,529	

From authentic documents, furnished Baron Humboldt by the archbishop of Mexico and others of the clergy, containing an account of the number of baptisms and burials in their respective parishes, it appeared, that the proportion of births to deaths, from the year 1752 to 1802, was one hundred and seventy to one hundred. Humboldt, from the most authentic data he could obtain, believed, that in the kingdom of New Spain, generally, the proportion of deaths to the entire population, was a thirtieth, and the proportion of births, a seventeenth During the ten years succeeding the year 1793, which was a period of perfect tranquillity, the population of Mexico is correctly ascertained to have augmented $\frac{29}{100}$, which makes it amount, in 1803, to 5,783,750

Allowing the ratio of increase for ten years, to be only $\frac{10}{100}$, in 1813, the entire population will amount to 6,362,125

And in 1823, at the same ratio, . . 6,998,337

There is no reason to believe, that more than from four to five hundred thousand perished during the revolution, which will leave the

present population at about six million five hundred thousand.

The population of some of the towns has changed in a very remarkable manner. That of the capital has rather increased than diminished since the time of Baron Humboldt's estimate. That of Puebla has remained nearly stationary; but the population of Guanaxuato, from forty-one thousand in the town, and twenty-nine thousand in the mines and suburbs, has dwindled down to fifteen thousand three hundred and seventy-nine, in the city, and to sixteen thousand four hundred and forty-one in the mines, in the vicinity and in the suburbs. That of Guadalaxara, on the contrary, has increased, from nineteen thousand five hundred souls, which it contained at that time, to at least seventy thousand. It is now the second city in the empire in point of population.

The Indians were considered by the first conquerors as their property, and were sold into captivity, and thousands perished under the harsh treatment of their inhuman masters, until the noble efforts of Las Casas, and other friends of humanity, drew the attention of the Spanish court to their sufferings. Commissioners were then dispatched from Madrid to enquire into these abuses, and to suggest the means of reforming them, and of alleviating the condition of the Indians. The first attempt at amelioration was the *repartimientos de Indios*, by which they were divided among the Spaniards, who had the profits of their labour without a right of property in their

persons. Next, the *encomiendas*, by which they were placed under the superintendence and protection of the Spaniards. The *encomendero* was bound to live in the district which contained the Indians of his encomienda, to watch over their conduct, instruct and civilize them, to protect them from all unjust prosecutions, and to prevent their being imposed on in trafficking with the Spaniards. In return for these services, they received a tribute in labour or produce. The abuse of these protecting regulations followed closely their institution.

The encomiendas were granted to Spaniards who never were in the country. The Indians were hired out, and the most exorbitant tribute was exacted of them. In order to check these abuses, it was decreed, that the amount of tribute received from the encomienda should not exceed two thousand dollars, the surplus to be paid into the treasury. They were made inalienable, and reverted to the crown. All these regulations were found ineffectual to secure the Indians against the rapacity of the encomenderos, and encomiendas were abolished. The Indians were next confided to the care and protection of the missionaries and of doctrinal curates. The last regulation in their favour, gave them magistrates of their own choice, superintended, however, by a corridor, to prevent the Indian alcaldes from committing excesses in the exercise of their authority.

In the viceroyalty of Peru, the Indians were subject to a tribute to the crown, levied on males only, from the age of ten to fifty. It was collected

by the corregidor, who had the power of exempting such as were unable, from sickness or bad seasons, to make up the sum. They could enter into no legal contract or sale, without the consent of the corregidor, or make any conveyance of real estate. Their lands were sometimes seized, and sold to satisfy the tribute, and in that way only could a transfer be made, or a legal title obtained for Indian lands. The Indians were burdened with a personal service to the crown, called the mita; this was a conscription raised among those subject to the tribute, in order to work the mines of Potosi. Thousands of these unfortunate people were marked every year for Potosi, and although the period of service was only eighteen months, they were attended by a numerous train of friends and relations, who, on the eve of their entering the mines, sang melancholy dirges, and sounding a horn in solemn strains, mourned over them with all the ceremonies which they used to evince their sorrow on the death of a relative. Their wives and children remained with the conscripts, who, harassed by a long march, frequently fell a sacrifice to the excessive labour and noxious air of the mines. The Indians of Peru have the appearance of habitual melancholy, and still wear mourning for the destruction of their Incas. According to an ancient prophecy, they expect to be one day delivered from their oppressors by a descendant of the Incas, who is to revive the former glory of the nation. They are prohibited from carrying any weapon, or from exercising any trade which might render them familiar with the use of fire-

arms. This law has been so strictly executed, that the unsubdued tribes are not dangerous enemies, and for more than a century have not disturbed the tranquillity of the Spanish settlers in Peru; and the attempts made by the civilized Indians to recover their former independence, have been more easily defeated. The Indians hand down from father to son the remembrance of their wrongs, and constantly watch some opportunity to revenge them.

The insurrection in 1778, was the most formidable known since the conquest, and laid in ruins some of the finest towns of Upper Peru. Oruro was totally destroyed, and La Pas lost the greater part of its inhabitants by famine, whilst it was blockaded by the Indians. Had they known the use of fire-arms, the whole of the white population of the provinces would have been destroyed. The revolutionary government, immediately on its installation, released them from the service of the mita, which was the most oppressive, and from the vassalage in which they were held by their magistrates. The tribute was continued from necessity, as it afforded a revenue which could not be relinquished at that period. In 1814, they were released from the payment of the tribute, and have taken an active part in favour of the Creoles.

In 1804, the military force of Mexico consisted of:—

Infantry—Troops of the line . .		5,200
	Militia	11,000
	Carried forward .	16,200

	Brought forward		16,200
Cavalry—Troops of the line			
In Mexico	1000	4,700	
In the internal provinces	3700		
Militia—			
In the interior of Mexico	4,700		
On the coast	4,000		
In the internal provinces	2,600		
		11,300	
			16,000
		Total,	32,200

A report made to the sovereign junta, shortly after the adoption of the plan of Iguala, made the effective force amount to 68,363 men.

Infantry—Troops of the line	20,269
Artillery	1,449
Cavalry—Troops of the line	13,645
Different corps of which no exact account was kept	3,000
Troops of the line	38,363
Militia	30,000
Total	68,363

In the winter of 1822, the military force consisted of 10,764 troops of the line.

Infantry in Mexico	2,524	
Jalapa	1,110	
Carried forward		3,634

Brought forward		3,634
Vera Cruz	600	
Guatemala	500	
Toluco	480	
Guadalaxara . . .	500	
San Luis	550	
Cavalry troops of the line in Mexico	960	
Vera Cruz . . .	600	
Province of Mexico	400	
San Luis	350	
Valladolid . . .	290	
Toluca . . .	400	
Puebla	300	
Quretaro	450	
Tulanungo . . .	200	
Scattered . . .	550	
Total regular Cavalry . . .		7,130
Troops of the line		10,764
Militia		30,000
Military force in 1822		40,764

CHAPTER X.

Government—State of the Arts—Botanic Garden—Arbol de las Manitas—Character of the People—Departure from Mexico—Guautitlan—Canal of Huehuetoca—Bata—Culture of the Maguey—Tula—Cabins of the Peasantry—Arroyo Sarco—San Juan del Rio—Colonial Trade.

The government of Spanish America was confided to the council of the Indies in Madrid. Their authority over the colonies was unlimited. They were the source of all favour, and presented to the king those who were to fill the different civil and ecclesiastical offices; they constituted, likewise, a court of appeal from the decisions of the audiencias.

The viceroy was commander in chief, governor, intendant of the province where he resided, and president of the royal audience and other tribunals. As commander in chief, he was assisted by a council of general officers; and as governor, by an assessor and legal counsellors. He assisted with great ceremony, at the cession of the royal *audiencia*, which tribunal watched his conduct, and had a legal controul over his actions; and he in turn rendered an account to the council of the Indies of the public acts and private conduct of

the members of the audiencia. The viceroy was not allowed to trade or to form any connexion with the people of his government; and it was not customary for him to enter any private house. The laws of the Indies, which in theory were calculated to protect the colonists and Indians from oppression, granted him almost regal powers, but restrained the arbitrary exercise of them by the responsibility attached to any abuse of authority. At the expiration of his office, a commission was appointed to inquire into his past conduct, and all the people, including the Indians, were called upon to prefer charges against him, and state any grievance they might have experienced during his administration. This *residencia*, as it was called, became an unmeaning ceremony.

Each province was governed by an intendant, who was the chief of every branch of the administration of finance within the jurisdiction of his province. He was assisted by an assessor, who gave a written opinion on all questions of law; but the intendant might reject his decision, and either determine on his own responsibility, or consult another lawyer. The tribunal *de cuentas*, over which he presided, consisted of a *contador mayor*, and a treasurer—they examined and audited all accounts. There was, moreover, a supreme court of finance. This court, of which the intendant was president, was composed of the regent of the royal audience, (chief justice), the contador mayor, the treasurer, and the solicitor of the tribunal of accounts. These members, when

their sentences were appealed from, did not assist at the session. The customs were collected by an administrator of the customs, and a treasurer, and their accounts were received by the tribunal de cuentas.

The royal audience, which was the supreme court in the colonies, was composed of the viceroy, who was the president, of a regent, three *oidores*, two fiscals, a reporter, and an anguazil.

The law laid both them and their families under the severest restrictions, and the president was enjoined to watch their conduct, and to receive and transmit to the king an annual statement of their acts.

They constituted the last court of appeal in America. The viceroy was recommended to consult them in all emergencies of the state, but was left at liberty to act as he thought proper. Where the authority of the president interfered with their decisions, they might remonstrate, but his will was executed. They had the privilege of corresponding with the king, and might make any representations they thought proper on the conduct of the viceroy.

Where the functions of the viceroy were suspended by sickness or death, the regent was his legal representative.

The *ayuntamientos*, or *cabildos*, were, and still are, an important branch of the government of Spanish America. They were composed of chiefs or regidores, and justices or alcaldes, who had the power of assessing and collecting certain taxes, and a jurisdiction somewhat similar

to city councils in the different cities of the United States. The cities were, moreover, divided into *barrios*, and each barrio had an alcalde de barrio, or justice of the peace for that quarter of the city; and throughout the country there were alcaldes or lieutenants of justice, as they were sometimes called, whose jurisdiction extended over prescribed limits; they were appointed for two years, and were accountable to the intendant of the province.

The military and clergy had their *fueros*, or privileges, among which was the right of being judged by their peers, and an esprit de corps generally screened the culprit from justice.

The spirit of litigation pervaded all classes, interrupted the harmony of society, and destroyed the confidence and affection which ought to reign in families and among near connexions. The lawyers were a numerous body, and the practice was not, as in the United States, an open appeal to impartial justice, but the art of multiplying acts, and procrastinating decisions, until the favour of the judge was secured by influence and bribery.

The ecclesiastical jurisdiction, belonged exclusively to the king and council of the Indies. The pope had ceded all his pontifical rights, except that of issuing bulls of confirmation, and even these were limited to the candidate presented by the king of Spain.

The bishop, assisted by a fiscal, and a provisor, formed the highest ecclesiastical tribunal; the business was transacted by the provisor, and

the bishops assisted only in cases which concerned ecclesiastics of rank. The ecclesiastical tribunals had cognizance in all cases of a spiritual nature, and which concerned ecclesiastics; and in all cases arising from pious donations and legacies. The ecclesiatical fueros or privileges, were extensive; it was sometimes (although very rarely) mixed; as when the plaintiff was an ecclesiastic, and the defendant a layman, the cause was tried by a secular tribunal, and vice versâ.

The parishes were served by rectoral curates; and doctrinal curates officiated in the Indian settlements and villages, which were divided into doctrines. The former derived their revenue from the fees of baptism, marriage, and interments, which the latter were forbidden to receive, but had an allowance from the treasury.

We strolled once more into the academy of fine arts. There is a good picture of Ferdinand VII., which is banished to a small closet. The collection of casts is certainly very good. I have no doubt that this institution has produced a love of the fine arts, and has refined the taste of the people; but I do not think any good artists have been formed in it. All the modern pictures I have seen, have been mere daubs. The pictures of Iturbide, which it is to be presumed were painted by the best artists, are very bad specimens of the state of the arts here. The architecture of the city is generally in very good taste. The Indians sculpture images in wood tolerably well, and the figures they make of wax are the best I have seen any where. They represent all the costumes

with great exactness, and the likenesses of persons well known in Mexico, of different trades and professions, are perfectly accurate. The face and hands of the wax figures are coloured to resemble life, and the colours of the drapery are very brilliant and well put on.

In the afternoon, we visited the Botanic Garden, which is in one of the courts of the palace. It is very small, and we found it entirely neglected. The only plant which was new to me, was the famous *Arbol de las Manitas*, which is described by Baron Humboldt and Bonpland, in the first volume of their Equinoxial Plants (the Cheirostemon of Cervantes.) I was assured, that some of these plants had lately been discovered on the western declivity of the Cordillera; this has attained the height of about thirty feet, and the stem is free from branches for about fifteen feet from the root; it then branches out regularly. The corolla is of a bright scarlet colour. I brought away some of the seed, which are contained in a pod about three inches long.

Notwithstanding the little time I have to spare, I have employed part of the day in leave taking, for nothing could induce me to be wanting in respect to people who have treated me with so much kindness and hospitality. The gentlemen with whom I have associated are intelligent men; and those who have had it in their power to pursue liberal studies, are fond of literature and science. The Creoles in general possess good natural talents, and great facility of acquiring knowledge. They are extremely mild and cour-

teous in their manners, kind and benevolent towards each other, and hospitable to strangers. Their besetting sin is gambling. The married women are very pleasing in their manners. They are said to be faithful to the favoured lover, and a *liaison* of that nature does not affect the lady's reputation. The young women are lively and accomplished; they sing and play agreeably, dance well, and know all they have had an opportunity of learning. If they would leave off the detestable practice of smoking, they would be very pleasing and amiable.

This is to be understood as characterizing the society generally. There are certainly some young ladies (very few I am afraid) who do not smoke; some married women (many I hope) who have no lover, or if this would be interpreted to derogate from their charms, who consider him only as a convenient dangler, and are fondly and faithfully attached to their husbands; and there are certainly many gentlemen who are not gamesters.

It is difficult to describe, accurately, a nation composed of such various ranks, and of so many different castes as that of New Spain. The most important distinction, civil and political, was founded on the colour of the skin. Here, to be white, was to be noble; and the rank of the different castes is determined by their nearer or more distant relation to the whites; the last on the scale being the direct and unmixed descendants of the Africans or Indians.

The character of the Indian population, which

exceeds two millions and a half, remains very much the same as that of the lower class of natives is described to have been at the time of the conquest. The same indolence, the same blind submission to their superiors, and the same abject misery are to be remarked. The forms and ceremonies of their religion are changed, and they are perhaps better pleased with the magnificence of the catholic rites than with their former mode of worship. They take a childish delight in forming processions, in which they dress themselves most fantastically; and the priests in many parts of the country have found it necessary to permit them to mingle their dances and mummeries with the catholic ceremonies. They were oppressed and trodden under foot by their emperor and caciques; and ever since the conquest they have been oppressed by laws intended to protect them. For the most part, they are distributed in villages, on the most barren and unproductive lands, and are under their own caciques, who are charged with the civil government, and with the collection of the tribute, a tax of about two dollars on each male from ten to fifty years of age.

The castes, that is to say, the *mestizos*, descendants of whites and Indians; *mulattoes*, descendants of whites and negroes; *samboes*, descendants of negroes and Indians—are scattered over the country as labourers, or live in the towns as artisans, workmen, or beggars. There are some Indians who have accumulated property, and some few of the castes may be seen living in

comfort and respectability, in the cities and in the country; but these instances are rare. From the cacique, or Indian magistrate of the village, to the most abject of his fellow sufferers, they are indolent and poor. The only difference between them is, that the cacique does not work at all. By a law passed since the revolution, they are declared, together with all the castes, to be possessed of the same rights as the whites. The tribute is abolished; but they will be, as a matter of course, subject to the alcabala, or tax on the internal commerce, from which they were heretofore exempt. This declaration will produce no alteration in the character of this class of the population. Measures must be taken to educate them, and lands distributed among them, before they can be considered as forming a part of the people of a free government.

The titled nobility are white Creoles, who, satisfied with the enjoyment of large estates, and with the consideration which their rank and wealth confer, seek no other distinction. They are not remarkable for their attainments, or for the strictness of their morals. The lawyers, who, in fact, exercise much more influence over the people, rank next to the nobles. They are the younger branches of noble houses, or the sons of Europeans, and are remarkably shrewd and intelligent. Next in importance are the merchants and shopkeepers; for the former are not sufficiently numerous to form a separate class. They are wealthy, and might possess influence, but have hitherto taken little part in the politics of the

country—most probably from the fear of losing their property, which is in a tangible shape. The labouring class in the cities and towns includes all castes and colours; they are industrious and orderly, and view with interest what is passing around them. Most of them read; and, in the large cities, papers and pamphlets are hawked about the street, and sold at a cheap rate to the people. The labouring class in the country is composed, in the same manner, of different castes. They are sober, industrious, docile, ignorant and superstitious; and may be led by their priests, or masters, to good or evil. Their apathy has in some measure been overcome by the long struggle for independence, in which most of them bore a part; but they are still under the influence and direction of the priests. They are merely labourers, without any property in the soil; and cannot be expected to feel much interest in the preservation of civil rights, which so little concern them. The last class, unknown as such in a well regulated society, consists of beggars and idlers—drones, that prey upon the community, and who, having nothing to lose are always ready to swell the cry of popular ferment, or to lend their aid in favour of imperial tyranny. The influence of this class, where it is numerous, upon the fate of revolutions, has always been destructive to liberty. In France they were very numerous; and the atrocities which disgraced that revolution, are, in a great measure, to be ascribed to this cause. In Mexico these people have been kept in subjection by the strong arm of the vice regal

government; but it is to be feared, that they will henceforward be found the ready tool of every faction. The priests exercise unbounded influence over the higher and lower orders in Mexico; and, with a few honourable exceptions, are adverse to civil liberty. It may not, perhaps, be altogether correct, to consider the influence of the clergy as confined exclusively to the upper and lower orders of society, but, certainly, a very large proportion of the middle class are exempt from it. Unfortunately, too many, who were educated in the forms of the catholic church, have emancipated themselves from its superstitions only to become sceptics and infidels.

I have hired a coach to convey me to Guanaxuato, or to San Luis, for which I am to pay three hundred dollars. I could travel ten times the distance for this sum in the United States, and with incalculably more convenience. The baggage, which the servants are now employed in packing up, exceeds very much that of eight passengers in one of our stages. Such loads of provisions, bedding, &c.—where they will stow it all, is to me incomprehensible. That, however, is their affair.

11th November.—I had asked and obtained the liberty of thirty-nine men, who were imprisoned in Mexico, on a charge of conspiring against the governor of Texas. About one half of them are citizens of the United States. Our government has not claimed them, and could not do so with propriety; but the emperor yielded to my solicitation in their favour with

great generosity, and they are to be sent to Tampico immediately. The necessary arrangements for their journey occupied the morning, and I did not leave Mexico until two o'clock. At four we reached the hacienda of Don Jose Maria de Fagoago, a gentleman whose acquaintance I made in his prison, and who is persecuted for his independent and honourable conduct. We were received by his steward, and found a dinner provided for us. He shewed us over the house and grounds. The former is a large building, and contains a great many bed-rooms; they were all well furnished, and we were pressed to stay until the next day. Our company, however, was too numerous to take up our quarters in a private house, for I was escorted by a number of my countrymen, who go with me as far as Huehuetoca. From the terrace, we enjoyed a last view of the city and valley of Mexico. We were near the foot of the hills that skirt the basin of Anahuac. "You will travel all this evening over the estate of Fagoago," said the steward; "his lands extend far beyond Guautitlan, where you will pass the night." The land in Mexico is, for the most part, in the hands of large proprietors; the peasants have no interest in the soil they cultivate; they receive wages in money as day labourers, or hold small tracts of land on the tenure of personal services. The garden of this hacienda is laid out in straight walks and parterres; a small stream of water is carried along the edge of the beds in a brick aqueduct, so as to irrigate them at pleasure,

and the flowers and vegetables were of a very luxuriant growth.

Shortly after leaving the hacienda, we passed a chain of low barren hills, and entered on the plains of Guautitlan, which are very fertile, and produce wheat, barley, and maize. We reached the village a little after dark, having been four hours on the road; and once more plunged into the court-yard of a meson. From this specimen we shall find the same accommodations on the road to Guanaxuato, as we encountered on our journey to Mexico—dirt, fleas, and all the indescribable torments of a Mexican inn.

12th November.—Set out at eight, and travelled for two hours over a poorly cultivated country to Huehuetoca, where we halted to breakfast. Near this place is the famous *desague*, or drain, to pass off the waters of the lakes of Zumpanco and San Christoval, which formerly overflowed into the Tezcuco, swelling that lake, and occasioning it to break its bounds and inundate the city.

We determined to devote the remainder of the day to the examination of this work. I was the more easily reconciled to this arrangement, from the state of one of the fore wheels of our carriage; the tire was loose and threatened the dissolution of the wheel. We were forced to send two miles for a smith, and I knew the repairs would consume great part of the day.

With some difficulty we procured horses and a guide, to shew us the road to the canal, which we reached after an hour's ride over the barren

hills that enclose the basin of Mexico. The Mexicans provided against the inundations by dykes, and their conquerors for a long time followed their example. In a city built on islands, intersected by canals like that of Tenochtitlan, the inhabitants, accustomed to move along the streets in boats and canoes, suffered by the overflow of water but a trifling and a temporary inconvenience. But after the canals were filled up, and the waters had retired, so as to leave the city on terra firma, inundations were attended with the most serious consequences. Nor was it a temporary inconvenience to which the inhabitants were subjected; the inundations were not only frequent but were of long duration; they happened every sixteen or seventeen years, and the city has remained partially under water for four and five years at a time. The old dykes were rebuilt, and year after year new ones were added, but all in vain; the waters continued to overflow, and it was at length determined to construct a drain from the river Guautitlan, which, in rainy seasons, swelled the lake of Zumpango, through the hills that enclose the valley. The lowest point was found to be north-north-west of Huehuetoca, near the hills of Nochistongo. The first project was to construct a canal to drain the lake of Zumpango, which is more than twenty feet above the city, and turn the course of the river Guautitlan. The first canal filled up from the earth caving in, but the second was completed by cutting a tunnel through the hill of Nochistongo. This tunnel

proved much too inconsiderable for the passage of the waters in a rainy season; and in 1629, the engineer thought it better to expose the city to the danger of an inundation, than to risk the destruction of a work which had cost so much labour. He closed the entrance of the tunnel, and the waters flowed back into the lake Tezcuco and covered the city, so that the inhabitants traversed the streets in canoes. This inundation lasted until 1634, notwithstanding our Lady of Gaudeloupe was brought from her sanctuary into the city to drive back the waters. It was at length determined to make an open cut through the hill, which they effected after encountering great difficulties. This canal, cut through clay, marle, gravel, and sand, is from ninety-eight to one hundred and thirty feet deep, and at the summit between two and three hundred wide. It was not finished until the year 1789—and cost the lives of some thousands of Indians, who were compelled to work in it. They were suspended by cords and were frequently swept away by the torrents when the waters rose suddenly, or were dashed against the rocks; and many perished from excessive fatigue and bad treatment.

We descended to the bottom, by steps cut in the indurated clay, and were very much struck to see only a small rivulet flowing through a canal of such vast dimensions. A large body of water passes off, by means of this drain, in the rainy seasons; but now the streams is not more than a foot deep, and two or three wide. The sides of the canal are so perpendicular, that they are

constantly cving in; but, from the rapidity of the current, no inconvenience has arisen from the accumulation of dirt at the bottom of the canal. On the edge of the canal, we saw small hillocks, formed by the rubbish thrown out in the progress of the work. They are now covered with verdure.

The engineer was forced to abandon bringing the earth from so great a depth to the surface; and adopted a plan, suggested by his predecessor, of carrying it off, by damming up the water, and washing it away by the force of the current.

With the utmost ingenuity, the deep cutting at the summit, which is two thousand six hundred and twenty-four feet in length, must have been attended with great labour and expense. The depth here is from one hundred and forty-seven to one hundred and ninety-six feet; and, for a distance of more than eleven thousand four hundred and eighty-two feet: the breadth, at top, is from two hundred and seventy-eight to three hundred and sixty feet, and the depth, from ninety-eight to one hundred and thirty-one feet.

13th November.—Took leave of our friends, and set out at an early hour. The country near Huehuetoca is barren and desolate; and for two hours we saw nothing but white clay hills, washed in ridges, except a few small plantations of maguey, which, however profitable, does not add to the beauty of a country. At the Venta of Bata, I was surprised to learn from the steward of the estate, that the maguey plants, on the

dreary hills within sight of the house, yielded annually a profit of between four and five thousand dollars.

Labourers were employed bringing in the liquor, which is clear and colourless, in hog skins, and pouring it into large vats, made of hides, fastened on a wooden frame, where it is allowed to ferment for four-and-twenty hours. It is then put into skins, and sent to market. The pulque is produced by a great variety of the *agave Americana;* those that flower in the shortest time (fifteen or sixteen years) are preferred. They all yield the same liquor; and the quality is said to depend more upon the nature of the soil than upon any other cause. The soil, too, produces a great effect on the period of flowering, and on the quantity of the sap. The same plant will flower some years earlier in rich land, and produce a great deal more juice.

The period of flowering is closely watched, and in large plantations requires great attention. The plant is lost if the incision be made too early or too late. At the moment the stem of the flower is about to shoot up, the top is cut off, so as to form a hollow, into which the sap flows. The labourers scoop the liquor out three times a day with a gourd, and pour it into a hog skin they carry on their backs; and one plant yields several gallons of pulque, as may readily be supposed, when we recollect, that the stem of the flower of the agave attains the height of twenty, and even thirty feet.

They put a large stone on the top of the plant

to prevent the cattle from drinking the liquor, of which they are very fond. Nothing can be more dreary in appearance than a plantation of maguey, when the plants are old enough to yield pulque; they wither after the sap ceases to flow, and the ground is strewed with dead plants and rotten leaves. We met here with a party going to Mexico. They were from Durango, and the ladies gave a wretched account of the accommodations we have to encounter at some of the mesons. They warned us against a particular room at Arroyo Sarco, where we are to sleep to-morrow, and recapitulated all its discomforts with the utmost naiveté. We were left in no doubt as to their nature, for they called every thing by its right name, without any circumlocution.

Bata stands on the side of a hill, and we continued to ascend for more than an hour before we reached the summit, which commands an extensive view. The plain beneath us was well wooded, but the country, to within a short distance of the banks of the Tula, was uncultivated.

We reached the town of Tula early in the afternoon, and passing the river on a stone bridge of three arches, stopt at a tolerable meson — strolled through the town, which is pretty well built, but has a gloomy appearance, and visited the church, a large gothic building, in good preservation. The valley of Tula was inhabited by a horde of Indians, (the Toltepecs I think) hostile to the Mexicans, and frequently engaged in wars with them. They were friendly to the Spaniards, who occupied this site, and built this church, sur-

rounding it by a wall and parapet. It has the appearance of a fortress. The interior of the church is mean, and filled with miserable wooden images of our Saviour, daubed over with paint, to represent the blood streaming down his face from the crown of thorns, and flowing from his side.

14th November.—Set out at seven, and after passing for some time along the stony bed of the river, we commenced a steep ascent, the road broken and rough, and the country desolate and uncultivated, exhibiting only a few cactus, from ten to fifteen feet high. A slow walk of two hours and a half brought us to the hacienda of San Antonio, a spacious farm house surrounded by a lofty stone wall. Opposite to the hacienda stands a small meson, where we breakfasted excellently well—on our own stores, be it understood. San Antonio is one of the vast possessions of the Conde de Regla. The steward, on horseback, near the gate was directing the labourers, who were going forth to their work. A number of horses were driven into a circle enclosed with a low double stone wall, where they were kept at a trot, treading out wheat. The land near the hacienda had been cultivated in wheat, Indian corn, and peas, and is of very good quality. From San Antonio, the road passes over a barren tract of country, covered with loose stones. It is all enclosed, and I was surprised to see stone fences running over hills, that can never be brought into cultivation. This is done, I presume, for grazing; but I saw scarcely any cattle, and very few horses or mules. These en-

closures are made by piling up stones loosely, after the fashion of the stone fences in New England. At the end of two hours' continued jolting, at a slow walk, we got out of the carriage to examine an extensive stone dam. From the top of it, we had a view of a fine sheet of water, terminated by sloping ground, carefully cultivated, and interspersed with copses of wood. The landscape it presented was unlike any thing I had seen in Mexico, and reminded me of the views in England. Water is rarely met with on these plains, and wherever there is a spring or rivulet, it is dammed up in this way; and we afterwards passed several smaller reservoirs, for the use of cattle.

We saw several large flocks of sheep grazing on these plains, which furnish very good pasture. Their fleece is coarse, but the meat is well flavoured.

The habitations of the people on the road side are miserable indeed. The walls are of stone, piled up loosely, like the fences, and not much higher; and the roof is a wooden shed, kept down by a number of large stones, and sometimes ornamented by ranges of pumpkins.

On leaving the plain, we ascended through a thickly wooded country. The trees were for the most part oaks of different kinds. One so much like our live oak, that I could see no difference; and yet I can scarcely believe this tree will flourish at this height, and at so great a distance from the ocean. For three hours we continued to thread the woods, and issued into an

open plain, uncultivated and unenclosed, but the soil apparently good. It was skirted on both sides by cultivated hills, presenting alternate fields and forests. At five we reached Arroyo Sarco, a large hacienda. The meson was in ruins, burnt in the revolutionary war, and we found the few remaining rooms occupied by travellers. By dint of coaxing and bribing, we prevailed on the huespede to give up his apartment, and to remove his family into the kitchen : so we have escaped the room we were warned against, and it is occupied, I see, by two luckless women. If I see them in the morning, they shall give me an account of the torments they have endured.

The people at San Antonio were very good looking, and we thought the race had improved, but at Arroyo Sarco they are as beggarly and as ugly as in any part of the kingdom.

15th November.—In the morning found an officer, a fellow lodger, in a fury, venting imprecations against the huespede, who was humbly apologising for what he had done. The officer, it seems, by virtue of his commission, had pressed two horses and two mules into his service at Tula, to convey his person and property to Queretaro. The peasants to whom they belonged had been compelled to follow their beasts to Arroyo Sarco. In the night they prevailed upon the huespede to open the gate of the meson, and decamped, leaving the officer to find his way as he can, or to press some other person's horses

The huespede, alarmed by the threats of the

lieutenant, furnished him with a horse, and he set out in pursuit of the poor devils, who had dared to go off with their own property. They have three or four hours start, and I hope will escape the brutal rage of this miscreant. This will give you some idea of the horrors of a military despotism, and make you more sensible of the blessings you enjoy under a government of laws.

We began our journey this morning at seven o'clock, and before the ladies of the chamber of miseries had opened their door. For an hour and a half, the road runs through a rugged rocky tract of country. At the end of that time, we entered on a barren plain of great extent, with nothing to be seen on it but a few cattle and horses. Beyond it rises a range of hills, covered with settlements and plantations. After a smooth ride of three hours and a half, at a moderate trot, we reached the foot of the hills, and stopped to breakfast, at a collection of wretched hovels, made, as I have before described, of stones loosely piled up.

We found abundance, notwithstanding this appearance of wretchedness. Excellent mutton—and in every hut I entered, there was some one of the family preparing tortillas for the rest. The people were tolerably clean, and appeared healthy and contented. The interior of every hut, which is not more than eight or ten feet square, is ornamented with bad pictures of our Saviour, or of the Virgin, and many had a taper burning before these household Gods. I promised some time back, to describe the method of making tortillas, and will now endeavour to do so. The Indian

corn is put into a large earthern vessel of water, and a very small quantity of lime is added, less than an ounce to two gallons. It is kept for two or three hours near the fire to simmer, (is not that the technical term?) which softens it and takes off the husk. The operator is provided with a stone eighteen inches long, and a foot wide, a little concave, on which the corn is laid, and it is mashed with a stone formed like a paste roller. This is held firmly, and being passed backwards and forwards over the corn, soon crushes it to a fine paste. So prepared, it is patted into a flat circular cake, extremely thin, and is cooked on an earthen pan placed on the fire.

The maidens all perform this operation with great dexterity and cleanliness. They have a jar of water by their side, into which they constantly dip their hands, to prevent the paste sticking to their fingers.

I do not like the tortillas as well as the corn bread or hoe cake of our country, but they are very palatable, and the natives live on them. They eat them with beans, and a sauce made with lard and Chile pepper, which they spread on the tortillas as thick as we do butter on bread. At this place the tortillas were blue. A great deal of the Indian corn in this country is coloured.

An hour's ride brought us in sight of the town of San Juan del Rio, and of the rich and highly cultivated valley in which it stands.

We drove into the court-yard of a new meson, the most comfortable inn we have yet seen. We are accustomed, in the United States, to see

buildings erected in cities with the greatest economy of space; but here, even private houses are roomy and spacious, forming a hollow square, and occupying an extensive front. The staircase of a good house in Mexico takes in nearly as much ground as the front of a respectable house in Philadelphia or New York. The meson at San Juan del Rio, is only of one floor, but the court-yard is a square of about forty feet, with rooms opening into the porticos.

There are two inner courts between the body of the building and the river, with stabling for two or three hundred mules. All well built of stone and mortar.

These mesons generally belong to some wealthy farmer, and are situated opposite his farm in the country, or near to it in cities. The price of a room for the night is only one quarter of a dollar and the cooking is not extravagantly dear. Their profit arises from having a ready market for straw, barley, and corn, which are retailed at a high rate to travellers. Indian corn is now selling here at nearly two dollars the bushel.

There appears to be more travelling on this road, than on that between Mexico and Vera Cruz.

We have met four coaches, one drove of mules, and a vast number of loaded asses. This animal is in much more general use in this country than the mule.

Strolled about the town, and found it neat and tolerably well built. A stream of water flows through it, and opposite our meson there is a hill

of basaltic rocks, crowned with a chapel and spire. From this spot the view extends over the whole valley, which is the most fertile and the best cultivated we have yet seen in this country. On our return to the inn, we found some travellers just arrived from the Baxio, a plain between this and Guanaxuato, where there are several small towns, within twenty and thirty miles of each other. From this circumstance, this tract of country is sometimes called "Las Villas," the towns. We entered into conversation with them at once, for, from the custom of the country, we were sure of a frank reception. They represent that part of the kingdom to be in a state of ferment. The dissolution of congress has excited universal indignation, and they apprehend a civil war. A dreadful alternative, but in my opinion, it would be better at once to cry "havoc, and let slip the dogs of war," than submit to tyranny and oppression.

16th November.—Re-packing mattrasses and provisions, and fixing them, and the rest of the baggage, on the carriage, together with feeding, watering, and harnessing ten mules, would be an hour's work to our servants. These fellows require nearly two to get ready; and, although we rise early, we never can set out before seven o'clock.

At that hour, we crossed the river San Juan, on a fine bridge of five stone arches. It is now a very inconsiderable stream; but, in the rainy season, notwithstanding the great width of the bed of the river, it frequently overflows its banks, and inundates the plain to a great extent. The

height of the town is six thousand four hundred and eighty-nine feet above the level of the sea. Nothing can exceed the beauty and fertility of the country around it. For an hour, we passed over a road covered with rocks and loose stones of porphyry, having beneath us, on our right, one of the finest valleys in the world. On descending into the plain, we found the road very good; and, for four hours, we passed through a country in a high state of cultivation. The principal culture is Indian corn. The ear is much smaller than on that of our corn, and the stalks thinner and lower. This is, in some measure, owing to the method of planting, (the beds are not quite two feet apart), and to not changing the seed for that of the low countries, where the corn is large.

As we drove along, we observed several deep wells for the supply of cattle. They were not circular, like those with us, but square; and many of them were between one and two hundred feet deep. To draw the water from this great depth, they use an upright spindle, having a drum of five feet diameter, with a band passing round it, and over pullies to the mouth of the well. This raises and lowers, alternately, two leather buckets.

The spindle is turned by a mule, and a boy empties the water out of the buckets into a cistern. A great portion of the table land of Mexico suffers from want of water at this season of the year. The streams that flow with the fulness and rapidity of torrents in the summer, are now scarcely to be distinguished; and we daily pass over beds of rivers that are entirely dry.

Every small spring is carefully dammed up near to its source; and, in some places wells of one, two, and three hundred feet must be dug, to get a sufficient supply of water for a farm. Happily, summer is the rainy season of this region. There are no means of irrigating these plains; and, but for this circumstance, they would remain barren and unproductive. On the coast of the Southern Pacific, the distribution of the seasons is very extraordinary.

On the line, and south, to ten degrees, the rains fall at all times throughout the year; and thunder storms are very frequent and violent.

From lat. 10° to lat. 25° 50′, it never rains at all, but the atmosphere is rarely clear: mists and dews moisten the earth, and the lands in the valleys are irrigated.

From lat. 25° 50′ to lat. 35°, the rains fall only in the winter. During six months not a cloud is to be seen. The dews are not heavy, and the atmosphere is perfectly clear. In the same parallel of latitude, on the eastern side of the Andes, thunder storms are very frequent during the summer months, but they have never been known to descend into the western valleys. The facility of irrigating the valleys, and even the plains, of Chile, is great. The distance from the crest of the Andes to the ocean, in no part, exceeds one hundred and forty miles. The fall of the rivers is therefore very precipitous; and in summer, the melting of the snows that lie upon the mountains during the winter season, keeps up a perpetual flow of water.

At noon we stopped opposite a large hacienda at a small collection of hovels, constructed with stones and mud, and thatched with straw. We found in these miserable habitations, in which we could not stand upright, the greatest abundance of the necessaries of life. At the door of one of them, there were two sheep hanging, that had been lately killed; and the women offered for sale, turkies, fowls, mutton, corn, onions, and a great variety of fruits, vegetables, and herbs.

The observation so often made and repeated, that where nature has done much, man is indolent, applies forcibly to this country and to this people. To no part of the world has nature been more bountiful, and in no part of it is there so little of comfort among the people. So true it is, that nothing will supply the place of industry.

On leaving this place, where we breakfasted, we drove for three hours over a rough road, and through a barren and uncultivated country. At length we were cheered with the sight of Queretaro, and the rich and fertile valley in which it is situated. A lofty aqueduct on sixty arches, traverses a part of the valley and carries the water from the adjacent hills to the town. On entering the town, we every where perceived the benefit of this work. Fountains are seen in every street, and in the principal square, opposite our meson, there is a very large one overflowing with excellent water. I have sent my servant to fill a pitcher from the spout, for the people are drinking from the basin, and dipping their mouths into it like horses.

CHAPTER XI.

Queretaro—Apasco—The Baxio—River Laxa—Celaya—Agriculture of Mexico—Effects of the Civil Wars—Las Villas—Hacienda de Burras—Marfil—Guanaxuato.

QUERETARO is a large and well built town, containing not less than thirty thousand inhabitants, and on walking through it, we saw a great many handsome public and private edifices. We found, as usual in this country, an unnecessary number of churches and convents. That of San Francisco is very spacious, and is ornamented with an extensive garden, and the outer court-yard is planted with evergreen, cypress, and other trees. The manufactures of this place have suffered in common with every branch of industry in Mexico; they are still carried on, particularly those of woollen and cotton stuffs, but on a reduced scale. African slaves formerly worked in these manufactories, and Indians, who were held to labour by getting them in debt, and keeping them so, by furnishing them the means of gratifying their love of ardent spirits. This subject was frequently discussed during the existence of the late congress, but no adequate remedy was adopted.

There are upwards of eleven thousand Indians in Queretaro, and many of them are still held in

this brutal state of bondage by the manufacturers. We have been amused for some time with the motley assembly in the square. It is Saturday, and on the evening of this day there is a market or rather fair held. They began to assemble about an hour before sun-down, so as to display their wares to advantage, and the business is now going on by candle-light We saw the poor pedlar, carefully spreading out on the pavement, odd pieces of old iron, spurs, bridle-bits, nails, and screws; the manufacturer hanging up his cotton and woollen goods; and the jockey dashing about on a gallant steed, and loudly calling on the by-standers to admire its rare qualities and to purchase. I suppose our appearance betokened cullibility, for we have been visited by almost every salesman in market, offering their wares at enormous prices. They are accustomed to chaffer, and you may offer them one-fourth of their asking price, without risk of offending them, and with a good chance of purchasing the article.

The mass of the people here will not for many years consume foreign manufactures. Their dress is simple and they are accustomed to wear cloth made in the country, and in many instances to manufacture it themselves. The Indians and common people wear leather breeches, loose at the knees, a leather jerkin, which descends to within three or four inches of the waistband of the breeches, no shirt nor stockings, sandals of hide, or shoes wide and open about the ankles. Over this dress they sometimes wear a manta,

(the Poncho of Peru) a square cloth, having a hole in the centre, through which the head is thrust. Cotton is raised in the country, and their flocks furnish abundance of wool of tolerably good quality. Their cloths are dyed of various colours, which they understand how to fix, and to render bright and durable. Their manufactures are either on a very small scale, in towns, or are domestic as in the country, where families make what little they require. The machinery is very defective, and the cotton is all separated from the seed by hand.* Every thing in this country is done by manual labour, and by dint of main strength. In large farms we have seen labourers carrying the corn and blades from the fields to the barn on their backs; sometimes asses are used for that purpose, and I have thought they might be made very useful in our southern country in that way, especially in harvesting rice. From habit, the labourers in this country will carry very great burdens. A

* In Queretaro, the manufacturers consumed 200,000 pounds of cotton in the manufacture of *Mantas* and *Rebozas*—cloaks for men and women. The manufacture of these stuffs amounted annually to 20,000 pieces of 32 yards each. There are twenty large manufacturing establishments, called *Obrages*, and about three hundred smaller ones called *Trapiches*. The official statements, published in 1793, gave 215 looms and 1500 workmen in the *Obrages* alone, who manufactured 6042 pieces, or 226,522 yards of fine woollen cloths; 287 pieces, or 39,718 yards of ordinary woollens *(Xerguetillas;)* 207 pieces, or 15,369 yards of baize; and 161 pieces, or 17,960 yards of serge. The whole value of the manufactures of this town amounted to 600,000 dollars per annum.

band is placed across the forehead, and another across the breast, which strap on the load, and the man bends forward and moves at a trot. In the city of Mexico water is distributed by men, who carry a very large jar on their backs, supported by a band across the forehead, and a smaller one suspended from a band round the back of the head, which, as they lean forward, swings clear of the body and legs. They carry two loads in this manner from the fountain, up two pair of stairs, for a *medio*, the sixteenth of a dollar.

In strolling through Queretaro, I observed that the side walks are laid with slabs of porphyry. Some of them have taken a fine polish, and are very slippery. I remarked to you that Africans were formerly employed in the manufactories of Queretaro. That race is nearly extinct in Mexico. In the capital I saw only three or four, and have not seen more than twenty since I entered the country. It is, I think, difficult to distinguish the African blood, after two crosses with the Indians. They lose entirely the negro features, and the mestizoes have straight black hair like the Indians.*

* Humboldt says, that "in visiting these manufactories a traveller is disagreeably struck, not only by the extreme imperfection of the technical method of preparing the dyes, but especially with the unwholesomeness of the place, and the bad treatment to which the workmen are exposed. Freemen, Indians, and people of colour, are confounded with condemned criminals, whom justice has distributed throughout the manufactories, in order to make them labour. Both are half naked, covered with

17th November.—In the morning our muleteers went to mass, and I accompanied them to the church of San Francisco, which was crowded with people of all classes. I like the equality on which all people worship the Deity in a catholic church. There are no pews nor seats for the rich. The house of God is open to all, and all without distinction stand or kneel before the altar. At eight we left Queretaro, and for three hours continued to pass through a fertile and well cultivated country, and over a smooth road. The

rags, meagre, and exhausted. Each workshop resembles an obscure prison. The doors, which are double, are kept constantly closed, and the workmen are not permitted to leave the house. Those who are married, cannot see their families except on Sundays. They are all flogged without mercy, if they commit the least fault against the established rules of the manufactory." It is difficult to conceive how the proprietors of *Obrages* can act thus towards freemen; how the Indian can endure the severe treatment as the criminal. The manufacturers of Queretaro employ the same stratagem, which is made use of in many of the woollen manufactories in Quito, and in farms where, from want of slaves, labour is excessively rare. They choose among the natives those who are the most miserably poor, but who appear to be disposed to work, and advance them a small sum of money. The Indian, who is fond of liquor, spends this in a few days, becomes the debtor of his master: he is shut up in the workshop under the pretext of liquidating the debt by the labour of his hands. His daily pay is estimated at $18\frac{3}{4}$ cents, and instead of paying him in money, care is taken to furnish him with food, brandy, and clothing, at prices by which the manufacturer gains fifty or sixty per cent. In this manner the most laborious workman remains constantly in debt, and the proprietor exercises over him the same rights as a master over his slave.

hills on both sides of the valley are in a state of cultivation, and we saw some large haciendas. I find, on enquiry, that all the land here is in the hands of wealthy proprietors. The clergy have very extensive possessions, and a great proportion of the lands are mortgaged to them.

At 11 o'clock, we halted at a *Rancho*, a collection of huts, where travellers who pass this road generally stop to refresh themselves. We found in them, as usual, ample provision of mutton, fowls, and eggs. This road is much better supplied with provisions of every description than that of Vera Cruz. The traveller who cannot relish corn cakes nor drink pulque, has only to carry with him bread and wine from town to town, and he will fare sumptuously on this route. At twelve we again set out, and at half-past one passed through the small town of Apaseo. These small towns look best at a distance. The churches are numerous, well built, and ornamented with spires and turrets; but the houses are, for the most part, of unburnt bricks, which crumble to pieces, and they soon look gloomy and shabby.

Leaving Apaseo, we entered on that rich tract of country called the Baxio, of which we have heard so much, as being the finest portion of the kingdom; as far as we have seen, it merits all its reputation. It is rich and fertile, and highly cultivated; producing, in great perfection, all the fruits of Europe, and many of those of the tropics. This plain extends from Apaseo to San Leon, and is covered with small towns, villages, and farms. We passed the river Laxa on a

handsome stone bridge of five arches: or rather, the bed of that river, for it was perfectly dry. In summer, the Laxa is a deep and rapid torrent, and frequently overflows its bounds, inundating the country for a considerable distance round. These inundations fertilize the soil. A farmer boasted to us that his land in this spot yielded one hundred and eighty for one. Another assured me, that seventy-five for one was not uncommon; and most of the land on this plain yields forty for one. The small town of Celaya is near the river Laxa, and we entered it at an early hour. It is very neatly built, and contains nearly twelve thousand inhabitants. The greatest curiosity in the place is Don Francisco Tresguerras, a self-taught artist and architect, to whom the inhabitants are indebted for the bridge over the Laxa, for some very neat private buildings, and for the splendid church attached to the convent of Del Carmen.

He came to see me, and brought a manuscript, which he insisted on reading. It was an essay on taste, and contained some severe sarcasms on his own countrymen. He had read it about half through, when, to my great relief, we were summoned to the window by the sound of music. It proved to be a procession in honour of the Patron Saint of Celaya. First, came a dozen young girls, fantastically dressed, and mounted on horseback, *a Calefourchon*—next the standard of the city, borne by three young men; then followed two lofty cars drawn by mules; the first filled with fiddlers, making a terrible scraping, and on the

second were seated four children representing the four quarters of the world. America was by far the finest lady among them. This procession, than which nothing could be more childish, was followed by a vast crowd of men, women, and children. Tresguerras said this was a proof, if any were wanting, of the truth of what he had said of his countrymen; and seemed to look on what was passing with the utmost contempt. From this view of the inhabitants, I observed, that there were more whites in Celaya than in any other town we have passed through since we left Mexico. The women are generally pretty and very well made.

Tresguerras accompanied us to the Church of Del Carmen. It is a very chaste building, and in good taste. In the choir of the church we were shown a picture of the Virgin, painted by Tresguerras himself, and highly creditable to his pencil. He is devoted to the arts, and has contributed all in his power to improve the taste of his countrymen, without any other reward than the gratification of exercising his genius, and the hope of leaving monuments of his taste to his native city.

Some of the best buildings in Queretaro were planned by him. The terrace of the church commands an extensive view of the valley of Celaya, which is carefully cultivated, and very thickly settled. Within every three or four leagues there are small villages, with neat churches and spires; and the whole of the valley is spotted with *Ranchos*. The hills that bound the valley on the east,

contain a vein of cinnabar, which is worked. The works are represented to be defective, and the mine does not produce much quicksilver, although the ore is rich. It requires an effort, to resist the inclination I feel to visit this mine, which is not more than ten miles from Celaya; but I must go on to-morrow towards Guanaxuato. I am constantly made to feel and to lament the necessity of hurrying through this interesting country.

In the evening, Tresguerras, with cloak and sword, *capa y espada,* called and conducted me to a tertulia of his friends. In this assembly, held in a shop under the arcades, and the guests seated round the counter, there were two priests present, one a canon of the church, who, when the clock struck eight, fell on his knees and muttered prayers for a quarter of an hour—the company joining in the responses. We were interrupted sometimes, too, by purchasers, and I was much amused by the novelty of such a party. This tertulia is held nightly throughout the year. I had hoped to derive some information from these gentlemen, who were intelligent men; but they were before-hand with me, and questioned me without cessation and without mercy. They spoke in the highest terms of the lands we are to pass through to-morrow; and told of olive groves, vineyards, and corn-fields, such as we have not yet seen in Mexico.

The agricultural products of Mexico, are as various as the physical aspect of the country. The table land, at an elevation of six thousand feet from the level of the ocean, produces all the

fruits and grains of the northern parts of America and of Europe, whilst the low country bordering on the coast, yields in profusion all the productions of the tropics. The Indian corn is common to both; it is the chief resource of the country, and its cultivation is so general, that Baron Humboldt says, "the year when the crop of Indian corn fails, is a year of famine in Mexico." Although wheat, rye, and barley, are extensively cultivated on the table land, Indian corn even there forms the principal food of the people, and as they are naturally improvident, a total failure of this crop is always followed by famine and disease. The land is generally rich; the corn is planted very close, and is not so carefully cultivated as with us. The wages of labour vary from twenty-five to fifty cents a day. An acre in these plains, yields from fifty to one hundred, but in most parts of the country, its average produce is from twenty-five to thirty bushels. In the low country, the land produces two crops every year.

The natives have various methods of preparing Indian corn. They are very fond of a gruel *(atolli)* made of the flower and sweetened with honey, but their most common method of cooking it, is in *tortillas*, which they eat with beans and Chile pepper. They also make a drink of it called *chicha*.

This valuable grain was first discovered in America, and, according to Cortes, the natives at that period made sugar from the corn stalks. As the crop is rarely equally good in the same year,

on the table land and in the low countries, it constitutes one of the principal articles of internal commerce. The farmers do not strip the blades as with us, but cut down the stalk, and all this fodder is called *zacate*.

Wheat is cultivated with success on the table land, and is even raised on the mountains of Guatemala, notwithstanding their vicinity to the line; wherever it is practicable to irrigate the soil, it produces abundant crops. In the vicinity of these towns, *Celaya*, *Leon*, *Silao*, and *Irapuato*, the method of the farmers is to let in the water in January, as soon as the blade appears, and again in March, when the ear is forming. In very dry seasons, they moisten the land before sowing, and then sow the grain broadcast, immediately as the water is let off. The plains of the Baxio, which are about one hundred miles in length, and from thirty to sixty in breadth, are perhaps the most productive in Mexico, and their crop averages about thirty-eight to one. In the valley of Mexico, the crop of wheat averages about twenty, and that of Indian corn two hundred to one. In the eminently fertile district of Zelaya, a vast difference may be observed between the lands which are irrigated and those which are cultivated in the ordinary way. The former, which receive the waters of the Rio Grande, distributed by small canals, yield forty and fifty fold, whereas the latter do not yield more than fifteen or twenty to one. The quality of the wheat is exellent. North of the districts of Salamanca and Leon, the country is extremely

arid, presenting extensive tracts without a river or a spring, and covered with a dry crust of indurated clay.

The *sweet potato* and *yam*, are cultivated both on the table land and in the low country. The potato on the former only. A red *bean* is also very extensively cultivated, and the quantity of *red pepper* raised in all parts of the country is almost incredible.

In the low country, they raise a small quantity of *rice;* but, next to the Indian corn, the *banana* plant and *manioc* root are here the principal articles of food. The *tatiopha manihot (an Euphorbium)* is cultivated through all the low countries of Spanish and Portuguese America, but requires the utmost precaution to prepare a nutritious flour from its root, as the juice is an active poison.

The table land produces in great perfection all the *vegetables* known in Europe and America, and all their fruits. According to Cortes, the *onion*, *bean*, *squash*, and several kinds of *salad*, were raised by the Mexicans before the conquest. The *cherry*, *plum*, *peach*, *apricot*, *fig*, *grape*, *melon*, *apple*, and *pear*, are all excellent of their kind, and are exposed for sale in the markets along with *pine-apples*, *pomegranates*, *sapotes*, *mameis*, *guavas*, *chilimozas*, and *avocates*, or *alligator pears*. Cortes says he found wild cherries and plums on the plains of Mexico. Wherever the *olive* has been cultivated it has succeeded; and the plains offer extensive plantations of them. The *vine* succeeds well in general; but, except in Zapotillan, Oaxaca, in the neighbourhood of Dolores,

north of Guanaxuato, and in the internal provinces, near Panas and Pajo del Morte, it is only found in gardens. The cultivation of the *maguey* (agave Americana) one of the most important branches of Mexican agriculture—has been already described; as it is neither affected by drought nor frost, it is more uniformly profitable than that of wheat or Indian corn.

Sugar is also raised in these plains; and it is a remarkable fact, that the sugar cane is chiefly cultivated on the table land of Mexico. It was introduced during the life-time of Cortes. The greater part of the sugar made in Mexico is consumed in the country.

Cotton is partially cultivated in the low countries. That of the best quality is found on the coast of the Pacific. This plant was known, cultivated, and manufactured, prior to the conquest. The *cacao,* another useful plant, was well known to the Indians at the same period; and the very name of chocolate, with the art of making it, passed from Mexico to Europe. They gave the name of chocolate to a drink which they used to compose with corn flour, vanilla, a kind of pimento, and cacao; they understood how to prepare this mixture in cakes. They also used grains of cacao as current change. Cortes says, "This grain is so highly valued, that it is employed for money, and purchases are made with it in the market and every where else."

The vanilla forms another very important article of Mexican agriculture. It is found in the intendancies of Vera Cruz and Oaxaca; abounds in the

eastern declivities of the Cordilleras, and in some places is cultivated by the Indians, planting cuttings at the foot of the trees of the forest, for this vine requires heat, moisture, and shade. Misantla, Colipa, Vacuatla, and Nautla, are the principal places in the intendancy of Vera Cruz where vanilla is gathered. Misantla is about thirty leagues from Vera Cruz, and twelve from the coast. The Indians of this village gather the vanilla in the mountains and forest of Quilate, and sell it to the whites, who prepare it for market. They spread it to dry, in the sun, for some hours, then wrap it in woollen cloths to sweat. It becomes black in this operation, and is then dried by exposing it to the sun for a day. There are four varieties of vanilla, differing in price and excellence. The vanilla fina, the zacate, the rezacate, and the vasura. But the most superior quality comes from the forests surrounding the village of Zentela, in the intendancy of Oaxaca.

Sarsaparilla and *jalap* are gathered in the eastern declivity of the mountains. The jalap of the district of Jalapa, is found in the shady valleys near the mountains, and delights in a temperate climate. The annual produce is about two hundred and twenty-eight quintals, (22,800 lbs.) and the price at Jalapa, from twenty-five to thirty dollars a quintal, (100 lbs.)

The cultivation of *tobacco*, as it has been before remarked, was restricted to the environs of Cordova and Orizaba. Before the restriction, it was extensively and profitably cultivated in other parts of Mexico; but in order to diminish the

contraband trade, the extent of land where tobacco was allowed to be planted, was restricted to five square leagues. The quantity raised is estimated at 2,000,000 lbs., which, not proving sufficient for the consumption of the country, a quantity was annually imported from Havanna. You see what smokers these people must be. The Indians rarely smoke, and this enormous quantity of tobacco is used annually by the European and Creole population. The annual sales amount to about seven or eight millions of dollars, and the profits to the king rarely fall short of four millions.

Indigo, one of the principal agricultural products of Guatumala, is but little cultivated in Mexico. This plant was known to the Mexicans prior to the conquest, and Hernandez gives a description of their method of preparing it for use.

Silk was formerly made in Mexico, but the culture of the mulberry and the rearing of the silk-worm, are now almost entirely neglected.

Wax is an article of great consumption in the churches, from the magnificence displayed in the forms of worship. About 1400 lbs. are brought annually from Campeche and Yucaten, where the bees are represented to have no sting. The annual importation from Havanna exceeds 600,000 lbs.

The cultivation of the *nopal*, (the cactus cochenille, or grana of the Spanish commerce, and nochiztli of the Indians,) is very ancient. There were plantations of the nopal in Mizteca, a province of Oaxaca, and in the environs of Cholula

and Huexotzinco, before the conquest. At present this insect is only reared in the intendancy of Oaxaca. The nopal plants were all cut down by the natives of the peninsula of Yucatan, in one night, probably to avoid the labour of cultivating them, and preparing the cochenille for the profit of their masters. The quantity of cochenille furnished annually by the province of Oaxaca, comprehending the three varieties, grana, granilla, and polvo de grana, amounts to 940,000 lbs., which, at seventy-five dollars the arroba of 25 lbs., makes two millions four hundred thousand dollars. In 1802, there were 46,964 arrobas, (174,100 lbs.) exported from Vera Cruz, amounting to three millions three hundred and sixty-eight thousand five hundred and fifty-seven dollars. In 1803, the quantity exported was 29,610 arrobas, (740,250 lbs.) amounting to two millions two hundred and thirty-eight thousand six hundred and seventy-three dollars.

The cochenille cultivated in Mizteca, (the grana fina) is the best; it differs from the grana silvestre or cottony cochenille, not only from its superior size, but from its being covered with a coating of white flour, whilst the grana silvestre is thickly covered with a substance resembling cotton. These two species of cochenille are found on different plants, and in many of the plantations in the province of Oaxaca they are gathered three times a year. The utmost pains are taken by the natives who rear this insect. They plant the nopals after clearing the land, and by careful cultivation these plants are in a state to nourish the

cochenille the third year. The proprietor then purchases in April or May, branches or leaves of the cactus covered with small insects just born. The Indians preserve the eggs of the cochenille for twenty days, in caves, or the interior of their huts. The greater part of the cochenille is cultivated by small proprietors, mostly Indians. Those in the neighbourhood of Oaxaca, follow a practice which is very ancient. In order to preserve the insect, they transport them during the rainy season, which, in the plains, lasts from May until October, to the mountains, where it rarely sets in before December. They place the female cochenilles in layers covered by palm leaves, in flexible baskets, which are carried into the mountains on the backs of Indians. The insect lays its eggs during the period of the transportation, and on arriving, they are distributed on the nopals of the mountains. As soon as the rains are over in the plains, they are carried down and replaced in the nopals of Oaxaca.

In gathering the cochenille, the Indians kill the insect, either by throwing it into boiling water, or placing it on matts in the circular stoves which form their vapour baths.

In treating of the cultivation of the different levels or plains of Mexico, a mistake has been made in distributing their productions. It is true, that the lower plain, as well as the line of coast, is the region of sugar, but the cane is successfully cultivated on the great plain, between six and seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. The market of the capital, as I have before ob-

served, is supplied abundantly with all the fruits of the tropics, and they are reared in its neighbourhood. The summer is very long, and even in winter the thermometer rarely falls below 50° of Fahrenheit. This plain is a part of the country called *Tierras Calientes*, but these terms are relative. It is true, that in certain situations on these plains, it sometimes freezes, but that very rarely, and only in exposed situations. The plain of Toluco, which is not very distant from that of Mexico, is about a thousand feet higher, and there the cold in winter is so intense, that the olive, which is a hardy tree, will not bear fruit. Queretaro, which is north of the capital, and but little lower, is called *Tierra Caliente*, and the tropical fruits grow there luxuriantly, nor does it ever freeze in that neighbourhood.

Cotton is cultivated with success on the plain of Anahuac, as well as below; and the agave Americana bears equally the heat and cold, and is found on all the different levels from the coast to the plains of Toluca.

Baron Humboldt gives the elevation of the valley of Toluca at 2,600 metres, or 8,529 feet above the level of the sea. The second, the valley of Tenochtitlan, or Mexico, at 2,274 metres, or 7,459 feet. The third is the valley of Actopan at 1,966 metres, or 6,447 feet. The fourth, or that of Istla, at 981 metres, or 3,247 feet.

18th November.—Anxious to proceed, I roused the muleteer earlier than usual, and we were off at the dawn of day. The country deserves all the encomiums we heard passed upon it last

night. Near the town, it is intersected with ditches and dams, to guard against the inundation of the Laxa. The soil is a rich vegetable loam, and laid out in this manner, looks like our finest rice fields.

The river Santiago, which in the length of its course equals those of the Rhine or the Elbe, fertilizes the whole of this valley. The lands of Zelaya, Salamanca, Irepuato and Leon, are irrigated by its waters; and this river, which is called the Rio Grande where it falls into the bay of San Blas, may hereafter transport the produce of these plains to the Pacific.

We toiled slowly over this rich soil, but the road soon turned to the right, and passes over a dry sandy ridge, overgrown with small mimosa trees and large cactus. On our left, we continued to enjoy a view of the Baxio. In order to reach Guanaxuato to-morrow, we resolved to take the most direct road. We leave the towns of Salamanca and Irapuato unseen; but these small towns all resemble each other so much as not to be objects of curiosity. It was to me curious and unexpected, to find so many of them near together; and it proves the great fertility and abundance of this tract of country. At noon, we stopped at a rancho of huts that surrounded the ruins of a hacienda. As usual, we found the people civil and obliging; and they supplied us abundantly with fowls, eggs and milk. These hovels are too small and too dirty to eat in, and we generally breakfast in the open air, and in the presence of a curious multitude. The people that

surrounded us this morning, were of every shade of colour between black and white: the woman who cooked for us boasted that her child was the son of a guachupin—it had the whitest skin among them. The darkest mestizo had straight hair. The women begged us to give them liquor in lieu of money, and were delighted by a small present of brandy. This hacienda was burnt in the first war of the revolution; and not far off, we saw another in ruins. In our progress from San Juan del Rio, we have seen a great many ruins. These haciendas are generally spacious buildings, with two court-yards: the first contains the dwelling—the rooms opening into the court: the second, the offices; and some of them have a third court, with stabling for two or three hundred mules, and granaries of ample dimensions, oil mills, and great store of farming utensils; and they all have a chapel annexed to the house. They are built of unburnt bricks or cut stone. The loss of such buildings is ruinous to the farmer, and no attempt has yet been made to repair them. We saw to-day some very fine olive plantations: the trees large and flourishing. I observed that rich mould was heaped about the root of each tree, and formed a mound about three feet high round the trunk.

We passed near enough to Salamanca and Irrapuato, to distinguish the churches and houses. They are neat and well built. Both these towns are situated in the midst of the fertile Baxio, and contain about four thousand inhabitants each.

At four o'clock we reached a hacienda where

we intended to halt for the day, but found it in so ruinous a state, that there was not a habitable room in it—not even an enclosure for our mules. We were compelled to urge on our tired cattle another weary league, to a hacienda, where we have been kindly received, and are plentifully supplied with provisions of all sorts.

A few miles from this place, we passed on our right a small insulated hill, having very much the appearance of a teocalli. It was a truncated cone, and seemed to me to have been formed by the hand of man.

19th November.—We had been all much fatigued with our ride yesterday, and our quarters were good, so that it was eight o'clock before we got into our carriage. We continued to travel on a ridge of barren land that skirts the Baxio, until we reached the *Hacienda de Burras*, (she asses) a large village, containing four thousand eight hundred and fifty-four inhabitants. Anxious to arrive at Guanaxuato at an early hour, we refused to stop here, but continued our ride through a fertile, thickly settled, and well cultivated valley, interspersed with orchards and gardens. As we approached the mountains, the land became rugged and broken, but still cultivated, principally in Indian corn. Labourers were employed cutting down the corn stalks with a reaping hook, and stacking them, blades and all, for fodder.

We reached the gate of Marfil, a suburb of Guanaxuato, without having seen the city; it is so buried in the ravines of the mountains. We

were stopped and questioned by the custom-house officers, who treated us with great politeness, and even kindness—refused to examine our baggage there, but sent an officer with us into the city.

While his horse was preparing, they insisted upon our alighting, showed us into a room, and offered us refreshments. After gratifying their curiosity, we found them nothing loth to give us all the information we asked, and one of them proposed to conduct us to a *hacienda de plata*, a farm of silver, where is performed the process of separating the precious metals from the ore. We accepted his offer, and saw this operation, which is very complicated, and which I must see again before I can venture to describe it to you. On leaving the gate of Marfil, we drove along the Cañada, the bed of a river enclosed between rocky hills, which on this route is the only entrance to the city. We passed some large *haciendas de plata*, some few handsome houses, and a great many ruins, the melancholy effects of the late civil wars.

Nothing can be more ruinous and gloomy than the approach to the city; but on leaving the bed of the river, we ascended a steep projecting rock, and entered a street, skirting a ravine supported by a lofty stone wall, having houses only on one side of it. We soon found ourselves in the heart of the town, winding along crooked narrow streets and across open spaces, which cannot be called squares, for they were irregular and of indescribable forms, most of them filled with market stalls. The houses present a very singular ap-

pearance. They are spacious and well built of hewn stone, but the fronts have been newly painted, and of the gayest colours: light green is the favourite; and some exhibit the colours of the three guarantees of the plan of Iguala. White, green and red are now the national colours of Mexico. We were conducted to the custom-house, where we had only to make a declaration, that we had not more than one thousand dollars with us, and were suffered to proceed to the meson. A traveller is allowed to carry with him a sum not exceeding one thousand dollars without paying duty.

Our meson is very comfortable. We have two rooms up stairs that look on the street, with a table and bench in each. Our mattrasses are on the floor, but then it is paved, and the white-washed walls are almost clean. We had letters of introduction to some gentlemen of Guanaxuato, and this evening we have been visited by the notables of the place, and have made arrangements to go to Valenciana to-morrow.

CHAPTER XII.

Mine of Valenciana—Population of Guanaxuato—Hacienda de Plata—Amalgamation—Mines of New Spain.

20th November.—Early in the morning we were on horseback, and set forward, a numerous company, to visit the mine of Valenciana. We passed through several narrow streets before we got clear of the town, some of them so steep, that we were obliged to push our horses up them on a gallop, and descended others where we, who were strangers, expected at every step that the horses would slip and fall. On leaving the town, we ascended the mountain by a steep road paved only in patches, the work of one of the magnificent Counts de Valenciana. When near the summit, we rode a little off the road and stopped on a hillock, from whence one of the party pointed out the course and extent of the Cordillera, the numerous mines in the vicinity of the city, and the direction of the great vein, or the veta madre, (mother vein) as the miners call it. The Cordillera extends nearly three hundred leagues from south-east to north-west. In this distance there are several rich veins of silver ore. Within the space of six leagues from where we

stood, among a group of hills called the Sierra de Santa Rosa, which are partly arid and partly covered with shrubs and small evergreen oaks, and surrounded by fertile and well cultivated plains, there are four of the richest and most productive, those of *Villalpando, San Nicholas, San Barnabe* or *La Luz*, and the *Mother Vein.* The principal mines which have been opened on the latter, are *Valenciana, Tepeyac, Cata, San Lorenzo, Sirena*, and *San Bruno.* They are now nearly filled with water, and are but partially worked. Indeed in many of them, the workmen are employed in picking out the best pieces from the heaps of refuse, which, in more prosperous times, had been thrown away as rubbish. These mines formerly supplied with ore and kept at work two thousand mills, each grinding six quintals every twenty-four hours. The extent of this vein, from Valenciana to San Bruno, in a direction from south-east to north-west, is rather more than five leagues, and within this distance there are upwards of one hundred shafts opened. Before the revolution of 1810, they produced ten thousand mule loads of ore of eleven arrobas, (275 lbs.) each, every week: making sixty-two thousand five hundred and sixty-two parcels of thirty-two quintals of ore. These parcels, reckoning one with another, are worth fifteen marks of silver, yielding annually nine hundred and thirty-eight thousand four hundred and thirty marks, or seven thousand and twenty-five bars of one hundred and thirty-five marks, each worth eleven hundred dollars—amounting to seven millions seven

hundred and twenty seven thousand five hundred dollars.

The mine of Valenciana alone, produced from five to six thousand loads; Rayas fifteen hundred, and the other mines the remainder.

We continued our ride, and soon after entered the town of Valenciana, which formerly contained a population of twenty-two thousand souls; but is now in ruins, and the population reduced to four thousand. We alighted at the house of the administrador of the mine, who is said to be a very intelligent man, but so deaf that he cannot hear the sound of a cannon; of course we could not profit by his information. His friends conversed with him by signs. He shewed us a plan of the mine, by which we formed an idea of the extent and direction of the shafts, galleries, and interior works. The excavations extend from south-east to north-west, sixteen hundred yards, and eight hundred yards in a south-west direction. There are three parallels or plains, worked on ramifications of the principal vein. The *veta madre*, or mother vein, was here found, not more than twenty-two feet wide, and without any ramification from the surface of the soil, to the depth of five hundred and fifty-seven feet; at this depth, it divided into three branches, and the entire mass, from one hundred and sixty-five to one hundred and ninety-five feet thick; of these three branches, not more than one is in general very productive.

They have all the same angle, (45°) but vary in thickness from nine to forty yards. Four

shafts descend to these parallels, the first called San Antonio, of seven hundred and forty-four feet perpendicular depth—the cost of this shaft was three hundred and ninety-six thousand dollars. The square shaft of Santo Christo, four hundred and ninety-two feet deep, cost ninety-five thousand dollars. The hexagon shaft of our Lady of Guadoloupe, eleven hundred and thirty-one feet perpendicular depth, cost seven hundred thousand dollars. San Josè, an octagon shaft, of more than eighteen hundred feet perpendicular depth, and three hundred feet in the direction of the *veta madre*, which is an angle of 45°, cost one million two hundred thousand dollars.

To understand the necessity of sinking so many shafts of different depths, it may be necessary to explain, that in following the dip of the vein, which is first discovered on the surface, and is almost invariably an angle of 45°, the work is impeded after a certain depth by water. A shaft is then sunk, so as to intercept the vein at the termination of the gallery, in order to free the mine from water. The work is then continued until it becomes necessary to sink another shaft still deeper, to clear the lower galleries. At the termination of each shaft a great many parallel galleries branch out on ramifications of the mother vein.

From these parallels a vast number of smaller galleries branch out, worked to a greater or less distance, as the ore proved to be of good or bad quality; and many of them were pierced with a view of discovering other veins. Besides the shafts, there are two descents by steps, winding

down to the last parallel. On leaving the house of the administrador, we were conducted to the first flight of steps; and, preceded by four men carrying torches, we descended to the first parallel, and stopped where four galleries branch off.

Our torch bearers were sent off to the extremity of these galleries, that we might form some idea of their extent in a straight line. They are both extensive and solid; the vaults are of porphyry, and the bottom of gray slate. In some places where the ore proved very rich, it has been taken from the sides and vaults, and the voids filled up with masonry, and beams worked in so as to form a firm support to the sides and roof. These galleries have been blasted out, and must have cost great labour, for the whole mountain is of porphyry to a great depth.

The exterior is covered with a crust of brescia, which extends not more than four or five feet from the surface. The ore is for the most part extracted by drilling and blasting; sometimes, but very rarely, the wedge can be used. On our return, we plodded painfully up these stairs, which the *cargadores* (porters) ascend with ease, with a load of ten or fifteen arrobas on their shoulders. They are paid according to the quantity they bring up; and some of these men will ascend, as we were told, from the perpendicular depth of five hundred yards, carrying the enormous weight of twenty-four arrobas (six hundred pounds). In the court-yard into which we entered from the gallery, and where the work-

men are searched, there was a large heap of ore, accumulated by each workman being obliged to bring a stone up in his hand every time he ascends, and throw it on this heap. There are about one thousand workmen at present employed, and in the course of a week a large pile is formed. The product of this belongs to the mine, and forms a fund for contingent expenses. The matricés of these ores, which we had here a good opportunity of examining, are principally quartz, amethyst, and rock crystal; horn stone, here and there a small portion of prase, calcarious spar, of a dark brown, and of pearl colour. The metals are pyrites of iron, arsenic, yellow copper, galena, gray and yellow blend, virgin gold and silver, sulphat of silver, both brittle and ductile, and rosicler, a rich silver ore of a bright rosy colour, which we did not see. This ore is so rare, that I could not meet with a specimen during my residence in Mexico. There are likewise veins with copper, lead, tin, cinnabar, antimony, and manganese; and the crystals of the carbonate of lime, that are found in this mine, are very large and perfect. We next visited the principal shaft, San Josè, an octagon, the diameter eleven yards, and the perpendicular depth six hundred. This great work, which cost upwards of a million of dollars, is in some places blasted through solid rock, and in others walled up with hewn stone: the masonry is admirably well executed. The workmen threw bundles of lighted hay down the shaft, which blazed as they descended, and which we saw fall into the water,

now not more than two hundred and fifty yards from the summit, and rising every day. After failing in his attack on the city of Guanaxuato, Mina caused the machinery of the mine of Valenciana to be burnt, and the owners have not funds to renew it. From these mines we went to a shaft called Guadeloupe, where we found two malacates in operation. These machines are used to free mines from water, and to draw up the ore. A malacate is a drum of about ten feet in diameter, attached to a vertical spindle, a shaft of fifteen feet long, which is shod with steel, and turns in steel sockets. Poles project at right angles from the shaft, to which the horses are harnessed. Two ropes are passed round the drum, and over pullies supported by poles twelve feet high, and about ten feet apart, and leading to the well. As the drum turns, one rope descends, and the other is wound up, and raises a large skin full of ore, or buckets of water, by what the French call a *chapelet*. At the principal or octagonal shaft, eight malacates were kept constantly at work, night and day. Each malacate was moved by twelve horses, and drew up, by a succession of buckets, seventy-eight arrobas (nine hundred and seventy-five quarts) every nine or ten minutes. Ninety-five thousand arrobas, or thirty-one thousand eight hundred cubic feet of water, might be raised by this means every twenty-four hours. It happened to be a sale day (Wednesday), and in the same court where the malacates were at work, we saw three or four hundred people collected; some exposing the ore

to the best advantage, and others examining its quality. This mine is now worked by halves—the workmen receiving one-half of the profits, and the owners of the mine the other. The workmen were busily employed in arranging the pieces of ore in parallelograms, composed of small circular heaps of ore. They were very careful to place the richest pieces at top, and the fairest side in sight. When all was prepared, the salesman placed himself at the head of the first parallelogram; and the buyers, after examining the quality of the ore, whispered in his ear the price they were willing to give for it. When all had made their offers, he declared aloud the highest bid and the name of the purchaser. A note was made of the sale, and the whole party moved to the next parcel of ore, and so on until the whole was disposed of.

There are two sale days in the week, Wednesday and Saturday; and the weekly sales amount to between five and six thousand dollars.

By law, the property of every mine is divided into twenty-four barras, or shares; and few, if any, of the mines are in the hands of a single proprietor. The sales therefore always take place; and those who have Haciendas de Plata, send their agents to purchase the ore from mines of which they are part-owners. These Haciendas de Plata we are to visit to-morrow. On leaving this bustling scene, we were conducted to the administrador's house, where we found an excellent breakfast prepared for us.

We returned to our inn in the afternoon, and I

walked up to the heights on the opposite side of the city; from whence the view extends over the whole valley, broken into ravines, along the sides of which the town is built.

To have an idea of its extent, it is necessary to see it from this spot: one part is so hidden from the other, that when viewed from the streets it appears to be a small town.

There are deep ravines about two miles from the town, with dams run across them, which serve as reservoirs of water for the consumption of the inhabitants of Guanaxuato.

The water is brought into town on asses, and sold at six cents a load. The wealthy inhabitants have cisterns in their houses. In the centre of the city there is a large building, constructed for a public granary; in which the inhabitants took refuge when the place was attacked by Hidalgo in 1810. The commandant, who is represented to have been a weak, headstrong man, insisted upon their retiring to this building, with all their moveable property. He refused the most advantageous offers which were made to him by the besiegers, and was killed at the first assault.

The place was taken, and the plunder that fell into the hands of Hidalgo at Guanaxuato was immense.

The city of Guanaxuato was founded in 1545. The first mine that was worked, that of San Barnabé, situated five leagues from the city, was discovered the same year, twenty years before that of the mother vein. In 1555, the mines of Mebladó and Rayas were opened on the great vein.

By a census taken in May, 1822, of the city and mines of Guanaxuato, it appears that the present population is 35,733 souls.

	Inhabitants.		Yards.
The City contains	15,379		
Valenciana	3,778	Distance from Guanaxuato	1,025
		Height above it ..	266
San Juan de Rayas	451	Distance	135
		Height .. .	138
Mellado	1,100	Distance	186
		Height	180
Guadeloupe de Sirena	181	Distance	198
		Height	198
Villalpando	510	Distance	17,863
		Height	1,589
Marfil	2,351	Distance	5,000
		Lower than the City	67
Hacienda de Burras	4,854	Distance	12,692
Hacienda de Rodro, Sanceda Montesillo, & Trinidad	851,	Sanceda the most distant, four and a half leagues	
Hacienda de Cuevas	2,404	Distance	16,996
Santa Ana	1,626	Distance	7,734
Santa Rosa	1,943	Distance	15,996
Mont San Nicolas	341	Distance	14,608

Of these there were unmarried men, ..	9,038	
Unmarried women, ...	11,206	
		20,244
Married men, ...	5,981	
Married women, ...	5,981	
		11,962
Widowers, ...	1,406	
Widows, ...	2,121	
		3,527
Men, 16,425, Women, 19,308.	Total,*	35,733

* According to Baron Humboldt, the population of Guanaxuato, within the city, in 1802, was 41,000

21st November.—In the morning we were annoyed by the continual crowing of cocks immediately under our window On looking out I found that at least a hundred of them were tied by one leg, and arranged along the pavement on both sides of the street, as far as I could see. They all belong, we are told, to the commandant of the city, a great amateur, and are to be exhibited at Christmas. In all the towns and villages in Mexico, cock-fighting is the favourite diversion of the people. Rich and poor, men and women, frequent the pits, and stake sometimes all they are worth on the issue of a battle between two cocks armed with slashers. It has been very justly remarked, that the inhabitants of mining districts are generally improvident, and passionately fond of gambling. This remark is applicable here only to the owners of mines, and those employed in them. Guanaxuato is not only a mining, but an agricultural district. The lands are fertile and are cultivated to the base of the mountains ; and the morals of the inhabitants of the country, who are frugal and industrious, form a strong contrast with those of the miners, most improvident and dissipated men, who, when the mines were in

In the suburbs and mines in the vicinity, and within the jurisdiction of the city, as Marfil, Santa Ana, Santa Rosa, Valenciana, Rayas, and Mellado,	29,600
	70,600
Population in 1822, ...	35,733
Diminution, ...	34,867

successful operation, were all wealthy and lived extravagantly, and many of whom are now in abject poverty.

We set forth after breakfast to visit a Hacienda de Plata, belonging to the Conde de Velenciana, in the Cañada de Marfil. It is a spacious building, divided into three courts; one for preparing the ores, (patio pa. beneficiar) and the others for horses and mules. The front is two stories high, very neatly built, and forms an excellent dwelling house. From the house, we walked through the first court, where men and mules were treading out masses of mud, and entered a long range of buildings, where there were thirty-five mills at work grinding the ore.

This hacienda, in prosperous times, works seventy mills. They resemble bark mills. A circle of about eleven feet in diameter, is paved with stones, set up edgeways, and rubbed down to a smooth surface; in the centre of the circle an upright shaft moves in sockets. From this an axle projects and passes through the centre of a mill-stone that rolls on its periphery—to the end of this axle the traces of the mules that turn it are attached. The first process is separating the ore from the stones and refuse. Women are employed in this work. They throw the stones aside that have no ore, and with a hammer chip off small pieces of ore from those that have a little only on the surface. They perform this operation with great skill and great dispatch. The ore is then placed on a thick iron plate, and is pounded by wooden pestles shod with iron, and

moved by a horizontal shaft furnished with arms, like the movement of the pestles in our rice mills. Two men, stationed one on each side, draw the ore from under the pestles upon plates that slope down from the top, and are perforated with holes so as to sift the ore as it falls on them. The large pieces are thrown back under the pestles.

After the ore is broken into very small pieces, it is put into the mill, mixed with water and ground to an impalpable powder. A small quantity of quicksilver is sometimes mixed with this mass while in the mill. From the mills the ore, ground to a powder and moistened, is conveyed to the *patio pa. beneficiar*, the open paved court-yard; salt is then added in the proportion of about two pounds to every hundred weight of ore. If the mass which is left untouched for several days, heats too rapidly, lime is added, which, the superintendant told us, cools it; if, on the contrary, it continues cold, *magistral* is mixed with it in order to give it the proper temperature. The *magistral* is a copper ore, or more properly a mixture of pyrites of copper and sulphuretted iron, which is toasted in a furnace, cooled gradually, and then reduced to a powder; a small quantity of salt is afterwards mixed with it. A small quantity of the powdered magistral was put into my hand and watered poured upon it. The heat evolved was so great, that I was obliged to throw it away instantly; probably owing to the sulphuric acid acting upon the metals and disengaging heat.

The next operation is to add quicksilver to the mass, commonly six times the quantity it is

supposed the mass contains of silver. This mixture of ore, ground to a fine powder, and moistened, of quicksilver, muriate of soda, and the sulphates of iron and copper, is made into an amalgam by being trodden by mules, which are driven round for hours together; or by men, who tread the mass with naked feet. We saw both in one mass; twelve mules were trotting round, up to their fetlocks in the mixture; and in another ten men were following each other, and treading up to their ankles in it. The superintendant examines the appearance of the amalgam from time to time, by taking up a little of it in a wooden bowl, and adds either salt, quicksilver, or magistral, as he finds necessary to complete the amalgamation.

This process is repeated every other day until a perfect amalgam is made, when it is conveyed into large vats filled with water. In the centre of the vat there is an upright shaft, furnished with arms and turned by mules, so as to stir up the ore and mix it well with the water. It is left to subside, and the water is let off gently, carrying with it a portion of earth, and leaving the amalgam, which is precipitated: this process is repeated until the amalgam is freed from all extraneous matter. It is then moulded into triangles, which are placed under stout iron recipients of a bell shape, and the mercury is separated by heat, leaving the silver with a small portion of copper, not enough for the usual alloy.

One of the grinding mills, in which quicksilver had been added to the mass, was emptied and

cleaned in my presence, in order to get out the amalgam, which is precipitated and lodges in the interstices of the stones, with which these mills are paved. After the floating mass was removed, the stones were scraped and the crevices emptied. The contents were put into a wooden bowl and washed. This amalgam besides silver, contains a large portion of gold. The ore of the mine of Valenciana contains some gold, which unites with the quicksilver, and this amalgam being so much heavier, is more quickly precipitated. The bars of silver made from these cleanings, contain always the largest portion of gold, and are kept apart.

On leaving the court-yard, we passed through an extensive range of buildings set apart for granaries, and into two large courts, where the horses and mules are kept. The whole of this extensive building is of stone. When we take into calculation the costly works at these mines, the expensive process of separating the precious metals from the ore, the high wages of all the *employés* from the administrador to the common labourer, the tax of ten per cent. which is paid to the government, and the very expensive works undertaken on the slightest indication of silver ore, and which are frequently pursued with great ardour to the utter ruin of the undertakers—we shall find, that the whole profits of mining, in New Spain, do not exceed six per cent. on the capital employed. A very intelligent Spaniard in the capital assured me, that he had watched the progress of the mines for the last twenty years,

and kept an account, as accurately as he could, of the monies expended in abortive attempts to explore new veins, and that he believed every dollar coined in New Spain, cost the nation one hundred cents.

In 1803, there were employed, in the mining district of Guanaxuato, five thousand workmen in extracting and amalgamating the ore, eighteen hundred and ninety-six mills for grinding the ore, and fourteen thousand six hundred and eighteen mules kept to turn the *malacates* and *arastres*, and to tread the masses of amalgam.

During that period, the mine of Valenciana produced twenty-seven thousand dollars a week; three thousand one hundred individuals were then employed, and the weekly expenses were seventeen thousand dollars.

In 1802, the ore of the mine of Valenciana,

sold for	$1,229,631	
Expenses of extraction,	944,309	
	$285,322	Divided among the proprietors.

In nine years this mine yielded	$13,835,380
And the expenses of extraction during that period were - - -	8,046,063
	$5,789,317

Taking an average of the whole amount of ore extracted from these mines, one hundred pounds

of ore contains three or four ounces of silver. The mean produce of several years gives six hundred thousand marks of silver, and sixteen hundred marks of gold.

In thirty-eight years, from 1766 to 1803, the mines of Guanaxuato produced one hundred and sixty-five millions of dollars in gold and silver.

By a table of Humboldt, it appears that the produce of the mine of Valenciana was

	In 1800	in 1801	in 1802
	$1,480,933	$1,393,438	$1,229,631
Expenses	977,314	991,981	944,309
	$503,619	$401,457	$285,322

To form some idea of the enormous expense of working this mine, it will be sufficient to remark, that the wages of miners, which were from fifty cents to a dollar a day, masons and other workmen, amounted annually to - - - $680,000
Powder, tallow, wood, leather, steel, and other materials - - - - - 220,000
$900,000

At that time there were one thousand eight hundred workmen employed in the interior of the mine, and three hundred men, women, and children, employed without in different ways, making a total of two thousand one hundred individuals. The direction of the mine is entrusted to an administrador, who has under his

orders a miner, two sub-miners, and nine master-miners.

Almost all the ore is brought up, as I have before remarked, by porters, *(tenateros)* who receive twelve and a half cents for every hundred and thirty-five pounds of ore they bring up. This class of workmen cost the proprietors, formerly, five thousand dollars a week. There are always three *tenateros* to one blaster. They carry the ore in leather sacks, with a band across the head, and bending forward they support themselves by a short stick. The stairs are at an angle of 45°, and they walk zigzag, in order, as they pretend, to breathe more freely, by traversing the current of air obliquely, which enters from without.

It will be seen by what I have already observed, that the state of these mines is deplorable. The expenses of working them have already been prodigiously augmented by the depth of the shafts and prolongation of the galleries, and it will require a large capital to establish forcing pumps to extract the water. In many instances it will be impossible to employ steam as the moving power, from the great scarcity of fuel.

I had brought a letter of introduction to a reverend Padre, who invited us to visit his hacienda. We walked out there in the afternoon, and were not a little surprised to find it a *Hacienda de Plata*. We passed through a long narrow building, where there were about twenty mills at work, into the yard, where we found the Father busily engaged superintending the work-

men. He very good-naturedly showed us the whole process over again. There was no treading at that hour; that operation ceases in every hacienda at two o'clock, but I saw here what I had not seen in the morning. Six women were seated by as many sloping boards, on each of which flowed a small stream of water. A quantity of ore was placed on these boards, and the women were gently stirring it with their hands, letting the water pass slowly off. This process is performed to prepare the ore for smelting, which is only done when it is very rich, or, as the miners say, when the ores are *polvillos;* the inferior sort are called azogues. After being washed in this way until little but the metal is left, they are ground in the manner described, mixed with lead ore in powder, and the whole melted together in bars. The lead is afterwards separated from the silver, in a furnace constructed for that purpose. The quantity of silver extracted by quicksilver, is, to that extracted in this manner, as three and a half to one. While we were talking with the Padre, one of his workmen brought him a large lump of amalgam, just extracted from the stomach of a mule. The mules that tread the mass, eat the mud on account of the salt it contains, and after death they are opened, and a piece of amalgam is generally found in the stomach. This lump weighed ten pounds. It was as clean and as bright as that purified by twenty washings.

On our return to town, we were invited to partake of an entertainment prepared for us. The ices were as well made and in as great variety

as I ever saw them in Italy. We retired to our inn to prepare for our journey to-morrow, well pleased with every thing we had seen, and gratified by the attentions we had received.

The inhabitants of Guanaxuato, to judge by those we saw, are lively, intelligent and well informed. To us they were extremely friendly, hospitable and kind, and we parted from them with regret.

Long before the arrival of the Spaniards, the natives of Mexico knew the use of metals. Not satisfied with those which were found in ravines, in the beds of torrents, and on the surface of the earth, they opened mines, dug galleries, and pierced shafts of communication. Cortez informs us, that he saw, selling in the market of Tenochtitlan, gold, silver, copper, lead, and tin. The inhabitants of Tzapoteca and Mixtecapan, in the province of Oaxaca, paid their tribute in gold, either in bars or in grains, packed in sacks or in small baskets. In all the large towns of Anahuac, they made vessels of gold and silver, and their skill in working plate and jewellery is frequently mentioned with admiration by Cortez.

The Aztecks procured lead and tin, before the conquest, from the mines of Tasco. The mines of Chilapan supplied them with cinnabar for painting. But copper was the most useful metal, and that generally employed in the mechanic arts. The abundance of native copper, probably led to its general use in North America ; and the Mexicans made their arms, hatchets, scissors, and other tools, of copper, hardened with a certain

proportion of tin. They manufactured cutting instruments, likewise, of Obsidian. Some metals were employed by the Mexicans for money; gold dust, contained in quills of the feathers of water-fowl, which they required to be transparent, so as to distinguish the size of the grains. In some provinces they employed pieces of copper, in the form of a T, and Cortez mentions, that in Tasco, the natives used as a medium of exchange, pieces of tin as thin as the smallest European coin.

Humboldt says that there are three thousand mines of the precious metals in New Spain. These mines are divided into thirty-seven districts, each having a council of mines called a *deputation.*

At present in all the mines, the *veins* of metal are chiefly worked. Ores disposed in layers and masses are more rare. These veins are found in primitive and transition rock. The porphyries of Mexico may be considered as rocks eminently rich in mines of gold and silver. Humboldt supposes that in the north of New Spain, great mineral wealth will be discovered in the rocks of secondary formation.

Arranging the great mining districts, according to the proportion of the quantities of silver they yield—the

1st is Guanaxuato.
2d Catorce, (in the Intendancy of Potosi.)
3d Zacateca.
4th Real del Monte, in Mexico.
5th Bolanos, in Guadalaxara.
6th Guarisamey, in Durango, (coal is found in this Intendancy.)

7th is Sombrerete, in Zacateca.
8th Tasco, in Mexico.
9th Batopilas, in Durango.
10th Zimapan, in Mexico.
11th Fresnillo, in Zacatecas.
12th Ramos, in San Luis Potosi
13th Parral, in Durango.

That tract of the mountains of Mexico, which produces the greatest quantity of silver, is contained between the parallels of 21° and 24° 30′. The celebrated mines of Guanaxuato, are not more than thirty leagues in a strait line from San Luis Potosi. From the latter to Zacatecas is thirty-four leagues; from Zacatecas to Catorce, thirty-one; and from Catorce to Durango, seventy-four leagues. It is remarkable that the metallic riches of New Spain and Peru, are placed, in both hemispheres, at about the same distance from the equator.

The annual produce of the mines of Mexico was estimated, before the revolution, at two million five hundred thousand marks, of which Guanaxuato, Catorce and Zacateca, yielded one million three hundred thousand. A mark is about eight ounces, (eight dollars and fifty cents) ten times the quantity produced by all the mines of Europe.

In years of their greatest prosperity, the mines of Mexico produced annually twenty-two millions of dollars in silver, and about one million in gold.

The gold is produced principally by washing the earth and sand, in some few places; and native gold is found in veins in the province of

Oaxaca. The greater part of the gold of this country is found in the veins of silver ore, either native or mingled with silver; from which it is separated in the manner before described. The proportion is rarely more than an ounce and a half to the hundred pounds.

From 1796 to 1803, the mines of Guanaxuato yielded four million four hundred and ten thousand five hundred and fifty-three marks of silver, and thirteen thousand three hundred and fifty-six marks of gold.

Among the ores of Mexico there is but little native silver: sulphuretted silver and black prismatic silver are very common in the veins of Guanaxuato and Zacatecas. The muriated silver is very abundant in the mines of Catorce, of Fresnillo, and of San Pedro, near the town of San Luis Potosi. That of Fresnillo is often of an olive green, passing to a deeper shade of the same colour. The martial pyrites at Pachuca yield a great deal of silver—as much as three marks to the hundred weight.

Throughout Mexico the ore is poor—much more so than that of Europe; some masses of native silver have been found, but they are rarely met with. The average proportion in the common ore of New Spain, is stated to be 0,0018 to 0,0025 of silver; or, in other words, sixteen hundred ounces of ore, contain from three to four ounces of silver. Garces, in his valuable work on amalgamation, says —"That the great mass of Mexican ore is so poor, that the three millions of marks of silver which the kingdom yields in good years, are

extracted from ten millions of quintals of ore, part by heat and part by amalgamation."

At Guanaxuato, the mine of Valenciana has yielded, from the 1st of January, 1787, to the 11th of June, 1791, the sum of 1,737,052 marks; which were extracted from 84,368 *montones* of ore. A monton is 32 quintals; which gives $5\frac{1}{10}$ ounces of silver the quintal. The ore extracted in 1791, yielded $9\frac{3}{10}$ ounces of silver the quintal. That year, the quintal of rich ore (Polvillos y Xabones) contained . . . . . 22 marks 3 ounces.

The second quality of rich ore (*apolvillado*)	9	3
Third quality of do. (*blanco bueno*)	3	1
Poor ore (*tierras ordinarias Granzas azogues*)	0	3

Guanaxuato furnished, in a common year, from 5 to 600,000 marks of silver, and 15 to 1,600 marks of gold: a mark of silver is worth $8\frac{1}{2}$ dollars, and one of gold 136 dollars.

Baron Humboldt gives the following table of the produce of this mine at different periods.

PERIODS.	Value of the Gold and Silver extracted from the Mine of Guanaxuato.	Mean Annual Produce of Silver.	Mean Annual Produce of Gold and Silver.
	Dollars	Dollars.	Dollars.
1766 a 1775	30,320,503	342,241	3,032,050
1776 a 1785	46,692,863	528,121	4,669,286
1786 a 1795	48,682,662	562,936	4,868,266
1796 a 1803	39,306,117	551,319	4,913,265

The mines of iron, lead, and quicksilver, have been hitherto neglected in Mexico; and it has

happened, that with an accumulation of twenty-five or thirty millions of dollars in the country, the manufactures and the mines have suffered from the want of these necessary articles. During the late war, iron sold as high as forty-eight dollars a hundred, and steel at two hundred and sixty; and it is only in such times that iron and quicksilver mines were worked, and steel manufactured; but on the return of peace they were again abandoned, and the whole mining capital and industry directed to the precious metals.

Baron Humboldt tells us, that the quantity of precious metals produced in Peru and Mexico, is in proportion to the quantity of quicksilver introduced into the country, and to the price it bears. Mexico consumed sixteen thousand quintals of quicksilver annually.

In proof of the consumption augmenting as the price diminishes, he gives the following table (page 92.)

PERIODS.	Price of a Quintal of Quicksilver.	Consumption of Quicksilver.
	PIASTRES.	QUINTALS.
1762 a 1766	82	35,750
1767 a 1771	62	42,000
1772 a 1777	62	53,000
1778 a 1782	41	59,000

In 1796 and 1797, the production of the precious metals in Mexico, attained its maximum. In the first year there were coined 25,644,000 dollars; in the second, 25,080,000 dollars. In taking a

mean of several years, it will be found that the mines of New Spain produce 7,000 marks of gold, and 2,500,000 marks of silver. The mines of New Spain, produced, from 1690 to 1800, the enormous sum of 1,353,452,020 dollars.

From 1492 to 1803, North and South America have produced the following sums, viz.

Mexico, ...	$2,028,000,000
Peru and Buenos Ayres, . . .	2,410,200,000
New Grenada, ...	275,000,000
Chile, ...	138,000,000
	4,851,200,000
The Portuguese Colonies, . .	855,500,000
Total,	$5,706,700,000

The revenue that Spain derived from this immense amount of silver, was much greater than if the mines had been worked by government, for it must be recollected that the king did not own any of the mines.

Individuals, upon discovering a mine, received from the king, a grant of a certain quantity of land in the direction of the vein. They were bound only to pay into the treasury, a proportion of the precious metals extracted, which amounted in the whole of America, to eleven and a half per cent. for silver, and three per cent. for gold. In Mexico, the proprietor of the mine paid, besides the tenth, one and a half per cent. and the coinage and seignorage.

The revenue, derived from 200,000 marks of silver, equivalent to 1,700,000 dollars, was as follows:

Tenth, ...	$160,000
One and a half per cent.	16,000
Coinage and seignorage, ...	86,750
	$262,750

If the bar of silver does not contain more than thirty grains of gold to the mark, it is extracted for the benefit of the crown: above that proportion, it is extracted for the proprietor.

An ingot of silver not containing gold, and extracted by amalgamation, weighing 135 marks —value $1171 75

Expenses.

Tenth and one per cent. . .	$127 75	
Assaying, ...	4 00	
Examining it in the treasury,	1 00	
Do. in the mint, . .	50	
Seignorage, ...	13 75	
		147 00
Paid to the proprietor,		$1024 75

An ingot of silver containing fifty grains of gold to the mark, and weighing 133 marks—

value, .	$1133 37½	in silver
	194 00	in gold
	1327 37½	

Expenses.

One per cent. and tenth,	123 75	
Three per cent. on the gold,	5 75	
Assaying,	6 00	
Examining,	1 50	
Separating,	91 87½	
Consumption,	12 25	
Seignorage,	13 25	
		254 37½
		$1073 00

The annual produce of the mines which paid the duty—

Mexico,	$22,170,740
Peru,	5,317,988
Chile,	1,737,380
Buenos Ayres, including Potosi,	4,212,404
Columbia,	2,624,760
	$36,063,272

The whole annual product of the mines of North and South America, was believed to be, at the commencement of the nineteenth century—

Mexico,	$23,000,000
Peru,	6,240,000
Chile,	2,060,000
Buenos Ayres,	4,850,000
Columbia,	2,990,000
Brazils,	4,360,000
	$43,500,000

There can be no doubt that the product of the mines of Mexico is capable of being considerably augmented. The free introduction of quicksilver and a diminution of the duty and charges on coinage, will tend very much to that effect; and under a government, which will inspire confidence and secure credit, it is impossible to conjecture to what extent the extraction of the precious metals may be increased.

CHAPTER XIII.

Leave Guanaxuato—Rincon—Plain and Town of San Felipe—Xaral—San Luis Potosi—Peotillas—San Isidro—Quelitan—Buena Vista—La Viga—Mountains of Norla—Tula—Mountain of Los Gallos—Descent of the Mountain of Contadera—Santa Barbara—Mount Chamal—Mountain of Las Cucharras—River Limon—Character of the Peasantry—River Raya de Sargento—Bernal and Village of Orcasitas—Carizo—Altamira.

COMPELLED, from want of time, to give up my original intention of making the tour by the towns of San Leon and Aguas Calientes to San Luis Potosi, I dismissed the carriage, and procured mules to convey our party over the mountains. It took up some time to adjust the baggage on the first day, and we did not leave Guanaxuato until eight o'clock. Our road lay through Valenciana, from whence we continued to ascend by a steep path, which winds along ravines, and is so broken and precipitous, that none but goats, mules, and asses, can travel over it with safety. We met a great many of the latter loaded with wood, going to the city. The sides of the mountains are covered with a thick growth of small oaks, and the city is supplied with fuel from these woods. The want of good roads renders it an expensive article, notwithstanding the extensive forests in the neighbourhood. The mountains around us were rugged, and the character of the scenery was wild and picturesque.

The ravines are wooded, but the summits of the hills are bare, and washed into strange shapes. We continued to travel over this wild solitude for three hours, when we reached the crest of this chain of mountains, which commands a view of the valley of San Felipe, one of those extensive and fertile basins common on the table land of New Spain.

The land does not lie so low as that of the valley of Mexico; but, like it, this basin is enclosed on every side by mountains. At the further extremity of the valley, we could discern the town of San Felipe. With this prospect constantly in view, we rode for nearly five hours along the summit of the ridge, and then descended by a winding and steep path, to the village of Rincon, where we arrived, quite overcome with fatigue. We obtained lodgings, with some difficulty, in a small room attached to a cottage. It is a cobbler's stall, to judge by the tools and lasts hanging about, and is barely large enough to hold our mattrasses.

The servants are lodged under a shed. The inhabitants of Rincon are goatherds and swineherds; and at sunset the village was alive with the droves and flocks coming in from the mountains.

23d November.—We set out this morning at two o'clock, and travelled by a bright moonlight. We suffered extremely from cold. The north wind was piercing. Travelling with our baggage on mules, we were obliged to halt frequently, while the muleteers adjusted the loads. On one

occasion, one of the saddle mules ran off and scampered over the plain, scattering the muleteer's arms and cloak-bag: after racing about for some time, we caught the mule; and the man, missing his appurtenances, expressed his determination to remain until daylight, as he had no chance of finding them by the light of the moon. The muleteers throughout all Spanish America, are a patient, hardy race of men—sober, attentive to their mules, and careful of the goods committed to their charge. They are remarkably honest, and are always cheerful and ready to serve their employer. They all go armed with at least a *machete*, a short sword with a very stout blade, that sometimes serves as a hatchet. They are fond of carrying fire-arms, and this man lamented most the loss of his pistol, and to recover it, waited two hours exposed to a piercing cold wind. At sunrise, we saw the houses and churches of the town of San Felipe, apparently rising out of the water. We were soon sensible that this appearance was the effect of the *mirage*, which was here very distressing to the sight, from the sensible undulation of the rays of light. San Felipe presented another melancholy example of the horrors of civil war. Scarcely a house was entire; and, except one church lately rebuilt, the town appeared to be in ruins. We stopped in the principal square, and passed through arches built of porphyry into the court-yard of a building that had once been magnificent; nothing but the porticoes and ground floor remain.

We alighted, and walked about in the sun to

warm ourselves, for we were benumbed with cold. I strolled into the garden, which is extensive, and laid out to correspond with the former magnificence of the building. Before we had done breakfast the muleteer arrived with bag and baggage. He shewed us the pistol in triumph, and treated lightly the penance he had endured to recover it. Soon after we left San Felipe, we reached a passage in the mountains, called Puerto de San Bartolo, barren and rocky, composed of brescia and loose blocks of porphyry, over which the mules toiled slowly. We now suffered extremely from the heat of the sun; and after a painful ascent of more than an hour, we reached the summit, commanding a view of another extensive and fertile plain, in the centre of which stands the small town or hacienda of Xaral. At three o'clock we passed the hacienda of San Bartolo, situated in the midst of cultivated fields, and a little before four alighted at the Xaral.

This hacienda is surrounded by a pisé wall, and is partially fortified: it was taken and plundered by the troops under Mina. The marquis made his escape with his family, leaving his treasure, furniture, and goods at the mercy of the enemy. He says that his losses amounted to two hundred and ninety-nine thousand three-hundred dollars. Mina's panegyrists declare this statement to be false, and give great credit to Mina for not burning the buildings, which are very extensive and valuable; as if a military adventurer had an undoubted right to plunder and destroy. I cannot consent to regard, in any other light, a man who invades a

foreign state, even under the specious and chivalrous pretext of redressing wrongs, and freeing a people from a grievous despotism. The assistance we have received from foreigners in our revolutionary war, has been cited as an example, and as an excuse for those who have thought proper to invade Mexico. The cases are not at all similar, and do not admit of a comparison. The noble spirited, gallant men, who at that time left Europe for the purpose of aiding the cause of liberty in the new world, belonged either to the armies of our allies, or joined our standard, and served under our chiefs. They did not enter the country at the head of a predatory band, without discipline, and without resources, to recruit their forces from among those who are ever disposed to follow a daring leader, and who engage in hopes of plunder, or from a love of the adventurous life of a soldier; obliged to subsist their troops by rapine, and to connive at their depredations, because they have no other means of paying them, or of rewarding their services.

In Mexico, these men, in their zeal to release the people from the tyranny under which they groaned, have desolated the fairest portion of the kingdom, and have attempted to spread the light of liberty by brandishing the torch of destruction. That the country has been laid waste and devastated by these incursions, I have seen; and I firmly believe, that the revolution has been retarded by them. With the character and motives of Mina, so much eulogised by those who knew him, I have nothing to do. He was an active en-

terprising officer; brave to a fault, and very humane. Had he remained at his post, he might have been distinguished among the gallant men who gave liberty to Spain, and who will, I hope, defend their freedom with the heroic and obstinate valour of Spaniards. With Mexico, whatever might have been his motives in invading it, he had no concern. He was a stranger, and landed at the head of a small band of strangers, entirely without resources. I was assured by a Frenchman, now a colonel in the imperial service, that they with difficulty mustered money among them all, on landing at Galveston, to pay a courier who brought them some intelligence from the interior. That he should, under such circumstances, organize a small army, and march into the interior, is adduced as a proof of the people being with him. It proves only the facility of collecting a force of the class I have described, and the weakness of the enemy.

He was a skilful officer and possessed extraordinary energy of character. He penetrated at once into the heart of the country, and carried on the war in the richest and most fertile province in the kingdom; which has been desolated and laid waste. The people of this country, the Indians, samboes, and mestizos, will flock to the standard of any adventurer who will lead them to victory and plunder. This is the reason why we see the Royalists making head every where against the Patriots, and maintaining themselves in the country without a single recruit from Europe. These men care not for the cause in which they are en-

gaged, and when sated with plunder, they abandon their leaders without scruple. Mina was one day at the head of a respectable force, and the next, left with only the band of gallant, but misguided men, who landed with him on the shores of Mexico. If the merchants who engaged in this speculation, (for the fitting out of this expedition can be regarded in no other light) had ventured more, their prospect of remuneration would have been much better.

Had Mina been furnished with money to pay his troops, and to defray the expenses of one year's campaign, without the necessity of subsisting upon the country, he might have succeeded in marching to the capital. But the expedition was very badly appointed at first by the British merchants, who set it on foot; it was eked out in Baltimore, and was only enabled to proceed to its destination by the adventurous spirit of a merchant of New Orleans. These supplies, furnished with a sparing hand, enabled Mina to reach the coast, and landed him with a very small force, without any resources but such as he could derive from the country. He was compelled to oppress a people whom he came to deliver from oppression. In this contest between oppressors and deliverers, the mines have been destroyed, villages and farms have been burnt, whole districts laid waste, and the resources of the country utterly exhausted.

My companions complain very much of fatigue, and remonstrate against setting forth so early in the morning.

I have determined, therefore, to go forward

alone to San Luis, to hire mules, and to make preparations for our journey to Tampico.

24th November.—Off at three o'clock in the morning, well armed, and mounted on a fine fast pacing mule, and attended by the most intelligent of our guides—a fellow six feet two inches high, stoutly made, and mounted on a mule that measures nearly sixteen hands. You will perceive that I travel without an escort. The fact is, that I found the soldiers difficult to manage, and thought them dangerous companions. *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* The banditti are all deserters, comrades of the men who escort you, and who would desert too, if tempted by a great booty. On the road to Mexico, one of our fire-arms was missing, the identical pistol that did all the mischief at Jalapa. The muleteers boldly accused the sergeant of the guard of the theft. He was indignant at the charge, and protested to me, on the honour of a Castilian, that he had never stolen such a trifle; and that when he did steal, it was something worth risking his reputation and his life for. The road from Vera Cruz to Mexico is the most dangerous; but, if ever I travel it again, it shall be without an escort.

We proceeded at a brisk pace until daylight, without exchanging a word, save my guide's chiding my mule for starting with so noble a cavalier on her back. These people know how to flatter, when they expect to be paid for their services and fair speeches.

As the day dawned, I saw around me the *cactus*, *mimosa*, and *yucca arborescens*, growing on a loose,

sandy soil. On the left, a chain of rugged mountains, without any trace of vegetation, stretches along in a line parallel to the road, and far on the right, were hills, partly wooded, and partly enclosed and cultivated. In all the plains I have yet seen, the western sides of the hills appear to be the most fertile, and are for the most part carefully cultivated. Some of the yucca trees on this plain are very large. The diameter of the trunk of one of them, measured near the surface of the ground, exceeded ten feet, the height not less than twenty-five, and the diameter of the tree, near the top, about three feet.

At ten o'clock, we reached the hacienda de la Pila, a very neat village, where there are silver works. We alighted at a small hut, a sort of cook-shop, and breakfasted on eggs, Chile, and tortillas, for the moderate sum of a *medio*, 6¼ cents. An hour's ride from La Pila, brought us in sight of the spires of San Luis; and in the midst of the gardens and cultivated fields that surround it. Indeed the whole country from La Pila to San Luis is cultivated like a garden; but its beauty is destroyed by mud cabins, and enclosures of cactus. The town itself presents a fine appearance: the churches are lofty, and some of them very handsome; and the houses are of stone and neatly built. At one o'clock, we passed the suburbs; and, as we rode along the streets, I remarked, that the people were better dressed than is common in New Spain. This, however, is Sunday—we shall see how it is with them to-morrow. I found some of my country-

men here, who, after trying in vain to dispose of a large cargo, wholesale, have opened a store, taken a shopkeeper of the country, and are retailing their goods.

They tell me that there are but few merchants of capital in the place, and that it is an invariable rule with them to fix a price on all foreign goods, and neither to buy nor sell at any other. This combination compelled these American merchants to retail their own goods—a plan they find very successful. I am at their house, and am very comfortably lodged.

On arriving, I dispatched a messenger into the country, to bring in an *arriero* (mule owner).

The mules are kept in pastures at some distance from the city, and it is necessary to send for them.

Spaniards are never in haste, and are surprised to hear any complaint at the delay a traveller encounters in their country.

25th November.—Strolled about the town, and found it well built and very clean. The streets are well built up, and intersect each other at right angles. The houses in the square, and in the principal avenues leading to it, are of stone, and two stories high; those in the suburbs are low and built of *adobes*. The government house in the square is not yet completed, but the front, which is of cut stone and ornamented with Ionic pilastres, would do credit to any city in Europe.

The people of San Luis are better dressed, and are better looking than any we have seen since our departure from Mexico. We have met fewer beggars in the course of our walks than common.

Every town in New Spain swarms with them. According to Cortez, this trade was practised before the conquest, and he mentions in one of his letters, as a proof of the civilization of the inhabitants, that "they begged in the streets like rational beings."

Visited the convent of Carmelites, the wealthiest order in this part of the kingdom. The church all tinsel and gilding, and in wretched taste. The monks shewed us some reliques of martyrs brought from Rome, to which we paid due respect. The garden is very extensive, and planted in vines, fruit trees and vegetables, and watered by means of conduits from a large reservoir, placed in the highest part of it. The walks are shaded with vines, and the whole is kept in excellent order, and cultivated with great care.

The convent is spacious and commodious. The cloister is ornamented with orange and lemon trees, and seems fitted for retirement and contemplation. The windows of some of the cells, and of all the corridors, command views of a part of the town, and of the fertile and cultivated country around it, terminated by a bold outline of mountains.

In travelling through Catholic countries, I have always found the convents so situated, as to afford the most extensive and finest prospects. I suspect, however, that the most picturesque and beautiful scenery soon ceases to delight the eye of the monk, who is condemned to look on no other. Although well pleased to see the prospect before

them admired by a stranger, they all appear ready to reply in the language of the monk of Naples, who when asked by Lady Mary W. Montague, if the view before them of the city and bay of Naples, the islands, Mount Vesuvius, and the fine country around, was not a glorious sight, answered, with a melancholy smile, *transeuntibus*, (to those who are passing by.)

My fellow-travellers arrived about two o'clock, and all my arrangements are made to set out to-morrow. In the afternoon we visited the cockpit, and found a strange, motley group there. A priest was examining one of the birds, and betting largely; and we saw miserable wretches, half naked, or covered with a blanket, put five, and some as much as twenty dollars, into the broker's hands, to stake on their favourite bird. Some *Senoras*, not, however, the most ladylike, but very finely dressed, were smoking cigars and betting. When the bets were all made, and order restored, a noble colonel pitted his own fowl against a *lepero*, a fellow in a blanket. One of the birds was killed at the first onset. The colonel was victorious; but after the battle was over, some dispute arose, and in an instant all was confusion and wild uproar. But for the seasonable interference of the brokers, who acted as umpires, we might have witnessed a battle between the priest and the colonel.

Great discontent prevails in this province. Every man with whom I have conversed, expresses his abhorrence of the despotism exercised by the Emperor. As far as I have had an oppor-

tunity of remarking, this sentiment is universal. Many respectable Creoles have declared to me, that they regret having assisted to shake off the yoke of Spain, which bore lighter on them than the imperial government of Iturbide.

San Luis Potosi, including all the villages in the immediate vicinity, contains forty-five thousand inhabitants. The town itself about fifteen thousand.

26th November.—Walked into the market-place very early in the morning, to make some purchases for our journey. It was crowded with people, and well supplied with meats, fruits, and vegetables.

Pedlars were hawking up and down the coarse manufactures of the country. Stalls were erected and set out with *mantas*, blankets, leather breeches and leggins, saddles, bridles, huge wooden stirrups, iron spurs, weighing at least two pounds, and a great variety of manufactures from the filaments of the agave: ropes, cord, twine and thread, matting, bags, saddle-cloths, &c. &c Here, as in every part of Mexico, the venders were satisfied with one-half of their asking price, and frequently with one-third part of what they, the instant before, had sworn on their consciences the article was worth. We saw exposed for sale a soft spongy wood, which the people bought to chew like sugar cane. On examination, it proved to be the stem of the agave, which is toasted before the fire for three or four hours, and then cut into slices. It contains a great deal of saccharine matter, and the people are very fond of it.

To prepare for the first day's journey with fresh

mules, is a work of time, and we did not set off until twelve o'clock.

For the first three hours after leaving San Luis, our road lay through a country but partially cultivated, and overgrown with cactus and yucca arborescens, which give a gloomy appearance to the scenery.

The fruit of the cactus (the tuna) is considered a delicacy by the people here, and in some parts, it is cultivated in gardens. The cactus triangularis yields the largest and best flavoured tuna. The soil over which we travelled, was white clay finely pulverized by the passage of mules, and the dust was intolerable. As we rode along, our guide pointed out, on the south of the road, the mountain of San Pedro, which contains a very rich vein of silver and gold. The mine, formerly opened, and worked on this vein, was for a long time very productive, but from some neglect in working it, the galleries caved in about thirty-five years ago, and the mine is now filled up. Several unsuccessful attempts have been made to open it, by piercing tunnels into the mountain, but the soil is too loose and sandy, and it is supposed, that the only method of recovering the mine will be by deep open cutting, a most laborious and expensive operation. In the rainy season, the torrents that flow from this mountain bring down with them gold dust, a quantity of which is collected every year.

At three o'clock we arrived at the hacienda of the Laguna Seca. Finding, after a consultation with the muleteer, that we could not reach Calorado, where we had proposed to stop, until long

after dark, we resolved to remain here all night; and have been well received, and are hospitably entertained by the owner of the hacienda. Near the house, which is a long narrow building, stand a number of mud and stone huts, and a small but neat chapel.

This tract of land is strewed with limestone, and there are some kilns in sight of us. Notwithstanding this, the huts are built of stones piled up loosely, and are thatched with leaves of the yucca.

A large proportion of the country between San Luis and Tampico, is laid out in grazing farms, where are raised great numbers of horses, mules, cattle, and sheep.

Here we saw for the first time, carts in general use. They are very heavy and clumsy, and require two yokes of oxen to move them.

27th November.—We began our ride to-day in a thick fog, which obstructed our view of the country. The road was a dry clay soil finely pulverized, and on both sides of it as far as we could see, was nothing but cactus. The stem of this plant, which is about ten feet high, in the great scarcity of fuel in this country, is used to burn. In all these plains, the inhabitants suffer from want of wood: even in the towns of the Baxio we saw small faggots made up of roots and twigs, selling for a medio a piece. All who can afford it, use charcoal, which is brought on asses from the mountain side.

We found the shepherds employed feeding cattle with the leaves of the cactus. They had a

large fire of the dried stems of the plant, and held the leaves on a stick in the flame, so as to burn off the thorns, after which they were eagerly devoured by the cattle

At ten o'clock the fog cleared off, and the sun shone out intensely hot. It is adviseable to finish the day's ride before twelve o'clock, for the heat after that hour is insufferable, and the change from the cold of the morning renders it injurious to the health of the traveller. We have seen the pools and tanks at daylight covered with a pellicle of ice, and a few hours after sunrise have been very much distressed by heat. At twelve, we alighted at a small farm-house, the residence of our muleteer, and here we shall remain until to-morrow. It stands on a small knoll, in the midst of an extensive plain, to all appearance very sterile. Indeed, the face of the country we have passed through looks barren and dreary; but our host tells me, that the hills and mountains, which we see in the distance, are overspread with a growth of low mimosas, and afford shelter and pasture to the cattle at this season, and that in summer, the plain before us, now so arid, is verdant and covered with rich pasture. This dwelling, the residence of a large family, consists of three separate huts of one room each and a small kitchen detached, all built of stones cemented together with mud, and neatly thatched with straw.

The only furniture of the hut we are in, consists of a large table and bench, and the rough stone walls are ornamented with miserable prints of our

Saviour and the Virgin. The floors are of rammed earth. Yet here we find the necessaries of life abundant and cheap; and we have just dined off a fat lamb roasted whole, and garnished with a pair of fowls, and plenty of eggs and tortillas.

28th November.—At four in the morning, we were on our mules, and accompanied by the good wishes of Dn. Manuel and his family, set forth by a bright moonlight. One of our muleteers is the husband of Dn. Manuel's eldest daughter; and one appeared to be the other girl's sweetheart. They followed us for some distance, and took leave of their friends with tears, exhorting them to take great care of us, and begging us to be indulgent to them. They are a kind hearted, amiable people.

As the morning dawned, we found ourselves opposite the hacienda of Peotillas, belonging to the Carmelites; the place where Mina encamped, the night before he fought the most brilliant action of the whole campaign. A short ride brought us to the battle ground, which we examined with some interest. Mina, by a skilful disposition of his small force, and by the most undaunted valour, here defeated a large body of Royalists, and opened his way into the heart of the country.

Far on our left, we could distinguish the chain of mountains, which contain the rich mines of Catorce, formerly among the most productive in the kingdom, but now full of water. In order to render this mine once more productive, the owners, the family of Obregon, have made an arrangement with an English commercial house, by which

they agree to give up one-half of their right and title in it, on condition of having it freed from water. For this purpose, a steam-engine of one hundred horse power, has been brought from England; the greatest part of which, after several months' labour, is still at the foot of the mountains. The difficulties of transportation are so very great, that I think it would be better to have the cylinder cast on the spot. It is said that coal has been discovered not far from this mine.

At eight, we reached the foot of a mountain, which we ascended by a steep road, strewed with limestone. The country was wild and mountainous, and covered with oaks. We afterwards descended into a narrow valley, along which we continued to wind until twelve o'clock, when we found ourselves in the village of San Isidro. Like all other villages in this part of the country, the huts are of stone, and thatched. We are in the only house in it, which is built of adobes. The good woman has not only received us with kindness, but has lighted two tapers before a picture of the Virgin, for our prosperous journey, and the whole family are officiously attentive.

The people here have some spirit of adventure. I have been applied to, more than once, by young men who wished to attach themselves to my suite, to go, they knew not whither—and this woman's son, a youth of twenty, is very urgent to be allowed to accompany me. The old woman, to my great surprise, seems as anxious about it as her son. She tells me that a party of Mina's

officers stopped here on their road to Peotillas, and speaks in high terms of their good conduct.

I have just returned from visiting a school, and have been much amused with the appearance of the pedagogue. In a large room, furnished with two or three cow hides spread on the floor, and half a dozen low benches, were ten or twelve little urchins, all repeating their lessons at the same time, as loud as they could bawl. The master was stalking about the room, with a ferule in his hand, and dressed in a most grotesque manner. He had an old manta wrapped about his loins, from under which there appeared the ends of tattered leather breeches, hanging over his naked legs; sandals were bound round his ankles; a leather jerkin, the sleeves worn off, and a dirty handkerchief twisted round his head, above which his shaggy hair stood erect, completed his dress. He seemed perfectly unconscious of his uncouth appearance, but received me very courteously; dismissed his scholars immediately, and at once entered into conversation on the state of the country. He is not satisfied with the present order of things, and made some sarcastic observations on the change of masters which the people had undergone; contrasting the colonial government with that of Iturbide, very much in favour of the former.

He told me that he was born in that house, and had never wandered beyond the precincts of the village. Several of the country people came in while we were talking, and all treated the peda-

gogue with great respect. He appeared to be their oracle.

29th November.—We commenced our journey to-day at four o'clock, and travelled without halting until we reached the village of Quelitan. Our road was a bare rock, scattered over with loose stones, and the only vegetation in sight was a scanty growth of small mimosas.

The soil since we left San Luis is principally a white, soft limestone; and at this season, the whole country wears an arid appearance. There are no running streams, and the cattle are supplied with water from tanks and wells, which are distant from each other. We are forced to stop wherever we can find water for our mules, and must sometimes ride hard, and at others make a short day's journey, as in this case. We reached Quelitan at ten, yet here we must stop for the day, for there is no water within several leagues of this place.

The huts are too small to contain our party, and we are lodged in a barn. It has been blowing a gale of wind all day from south-west, and the air is not only hot and parching, like the Sirocco, but we have been very much incommoded by the drifting sand; and now the dust pours in upon us in a solid column through the door, which we are obliged to keep open to admit the light, for there is no window in the building.

You would be amused to see us seated on our baggage in a huge comfortless barn, making a chair of one trunk, and a table of another; with a tarpaulin fixed up to protect us from the dust, and

our servants cooking our dinner behind the door —the smoke eddying round the walls and rafters.

To avoid these nuisances, I have been strolling about the village, and into every hut in it. Compared with these habitations, a Calmuck or even a Tartar tent is a palace. They are made of stones and mud, raised not more than five feet from the ground, and thatched with leaves of the yucca; the walls all black with smoke, for they have no chimnies, and the earth floors are covered with filth. I certainly never saw a negro-house in Carolina so comfortless. Any master, who, in our country, should lodge his slaves in this manner, would be considered barbarous and inhuman.

These people are very swarthy: their principal occupation is to prepare the leaves of the *lechuva*, a species of agave, for spinning. They make pulque and brandy from this plant, which grows wild in the mountains; and prepare the leaves by rotting and hackling them, in the same manner as hemp is prepared for market. They are healthy and robust, and might enjoy every comfort of life. The valley in which we are is fertile, and produces good crops of Indian corn. They complained that their life was a very laborious one, as they were obliged to carry the lechuva to the markets of San Luis or Tula. I have met, however, only one beggar.

In the evening we went to the well, the rendezvous of all the girls of the village, whose province it is, as in the olden time, to draw water. Each one had a jar, or pitcher, which she carried on her shoulder, and a small leather bucket and rope.

Some of them were pretty and very well made; and although quite cheerful, laughing and chatting at a great rate, they were all very modest in their demeanour and conversation. Two men were drawing water at the same time for the supply of the cattle. One guided and emptied the bucket, while the other raised it by means of a rope, which was fastened round his body, and suspended over a pulley. He ran the length of the rope, which was equal to the depth of the well, and raised the bucket full of water. We left him running backwards and forwards, and returned to our barn.

30th November.—To avoid the heat of the sun, we set out before four o'clock, by a clear and bright moonlight.

At daylight we were at Buena Vista. The dawn this morning was particularly beautiful. Clouds, tinged with the most vivid colours, hung on the mountain tops.

The atmosphere, at this season of the year, is generally very clear; and this is the first time we have seen clouds hanging over the mountains, since our departure from San Luis.

The hacienda of Buena Vista is larger than that of Quelitan, but the wells are dry, and the inhabitants are obliged to drive their cattle two leagues to get water. On leaving Buena Vista, we plunged into a thick wood of mimosa, yucca arborescens, and filimentosa, and a great variety of cactus.

The ground was covered with lechuva plants. Besides the uses made of the leaves of this plant,

which are manufactured into ropes, twine, thread, and coarse cloths for pack-saddles, the interior furnishes a substitute for soap. It makes a lather in soft water, and is considered very cleansing. We continued to pass through this wood during the whole of our ride to-day; and whenever we ascended a small eminence, we could perceive the same woods extending to the mountains, and up their sides to the summit. The dust was dreadfully annoying.

Our mules plunged up to their knees in a fine impalpable powder, which rose and enveloped us, so that we could not see each other twenty yards off. We kept as far apart as we could, each horseman surrounded by a cloud of dust.

At ten we reached the village of La Viga, where we are accommodated pretty much as we were yesterday—the only difference being, that at Quelitan, we were shown into a barn, so called—and here we are, in a barn, which they insist upon calling a house.

It is calm, and we are no longer incommoded by dust, and are disposed to think ourselves very pleasantly situated.

The cabins of La Viga are as miserable as those of Quelitan. I never have seen permanent habitations of man so very wretched. The country around is dry and barren; and the inhabitants support themselves by dressing the leaves of the lechuva.

Their market is Tula, where they exchange the raw material for corn and *vino mescal*, (brandy distilled from the juice of the agave.)

1st December.—We were again off at four, and at the dawn of day, entered a pass in the mountains of Norla; over which we passed, by a winding and circuitous road. From the summit we had a view of Tula, situated at the extremity of an extensive plain, and on the declivity of the hills, that terminate it. We continued for two hours, with the town in sight, to pass over a desolate and barren tract of country, overgrown with low mimosa shrubs, and small cactus plants, white with the dust in which we ourselves were enveloped.

Tula is the fit capital of such a country; badly built, and so gloomy, that not even the crowd of well dressed peasantry, that filled the streets, could enliven its appearance.

It is Sunday, and the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages have crowded into the town to hear mass. The men are well dressed in leather breeches and jackets, and most of them have shirts and stockings, and a manta thrown over their shoulder.

The women are neatly dressed, and look clean and healthy. Their dress consists of a shift, one or more petticoats of striped cotton stuff, and a shawl, which they throw gracefully over the shoulder, and which they are never without when in company. I have seen them washing and cooking, very much distressed to manage this part of their dress, but persevere in wearing it, notwithstanding the inconvenience it put them to.

The alcalde of Tula furnished us apartments. As usual they have dirt floors, and are without

windows; but then we have a bench to sit on, and a table, and one of my companions has just discovered some cane hurdles to put our mattresses on. You can have no idea of the luxury of a cane hurdle on four posts, to serve as a bedstead. The smell of an earth floor, when so near it, is very unpleasant; and one is visited by an unnecessary number of fleas, ants, and other insects, some of which are avoided when the bed is raised from the floor.

I have just returned from a session of politicians held in the alcalde's shop. Tula is the district represented by Padre Mier, and appears to be the very centre of democracy. I have been listening to violent harangues against the imperial government, and furious invectives against a certain Garza, for his treacherous and cowardly conduct.

He, it seems, was a champion of liberty, and took up arms against the emperor. He was at the head of nearly eight hundred men, but abandoned the enterprise on the approach of the imperial forces, without striking a blow, and even without making terms for any of his adherents.

It is a general opinion among the Tula politicians, that if he had displayed more resolution, the troops sent against him from San Luis, would have joined his standard.

I heard an account of the failure of this revolt, when in Mexico. The news was hawked about the streets, under the title of *Iturbide caza Garzas sin disparar el fusil*—(Iturbide hunts Garzas without firing a gun.)

Tula was formerly a mission, afterwards a *presidio*, (a frontier fortress,) and is now called a town. The houses are built of adobes, and it contains about fifteen hundred inhabitants.

2d December.—This has been a very pleasant day's ride. The contrast from the dusty arid plains above Tula, to verdant fields and streams of water, is delightful. On leaving the town, we found the whole face of nature changed. We descended by a winding road into a fertile valley, cultivated in Indian corn, and scattered over with neat farm-houses. We continued in this valley for three hours, and then passed the range of hills which enclose it on the east. When near the summit, we enjoyed a view of a small sheet of water covered with wild ducks and geese, and surrounded by lofty and rugged mountains.

A fine plain extends from the summit of these hills covered with verdure and skirted with woods. This view was particularly grateful to our sight, after having been for so many days travelling over the sterile country between San Luis and Tula, which is at all times dry and dusty, but is rendered more so than usual, by a long drought of two summers. We stopped to breakfast at a rancho. The huts were made of a few poles stuck in the ground, and thatched with straw. We found only the females of the family at home; the men are shepherds, and were out tending their flocks. The women were all employed weaving shawls of wool and cotton thread. They did not use a loom, but had the warp so adjusted, that one end was fastened to a pin in the wall, and the

other passed round the waist. These shawls are two yards and a half long, and three quarters wide. It is two months' work to make one, and the price is eight dollars. They might be manufactured in our country for less than two.

After leaving this rancho, we passed through a wood of oaks, and very soon reached the edge of the mountain of Gallos, the first steep descent from the table land towards the coast. We descended by a zigzag path, and notwithstanding the difficulties of the road, which is very precipitous, my attention was constantly attracted by the magnificent scenery before us, and by the variety and beauty of the shrubs and flowers on both sides of us.

The distant view embraces two ranges of mountains to the east, and we could see distinctly the extensive plains enclosed by them. The oaks were covered with a variety of mosses—from the long hanging moss of our southern swamps, to the air plant with fibres an inch in circumference, similar in every respect to that which is found on the mimosas near Mendoza, at the foot of the Andes. I saw too on these oaks, a plant with leaves like those of the pine apple, and which throws up a flower eighteen inches high. Our muleteers call it a lily. From the appearance of the plant, it dies after flowering.

The descent lasted one hour and a half, when we reached the plain of *Los Gallos;* and after passing a small stream, and over a beautiful meadow, we alighted at a cottage, which was constructed of various pieces of wood of all sorts and

sizes; from poles to boards two feet wide. They were planted perpendicularly in the ground, and to economize the materials, were placed two or three inches apart. The thatch, which is very tight, does not touch these boards, but rests on a few upright posts three feet higher than the wall. These open houses may be healthy, but I fear this will prove uncomfortable in cold weather. A piercing north wind is blowing, and it promises to be a bleak night.

While dinner was preparing I walked out, and succeeded in collecting the seed of several of the mosses, and of the lily of the oaks. I saw this in several stages, but could not find one in full bloom.

3d December.—As I expected, we suffered very much from cold last night, and did not set out until eight o'clock. A mist hung over the mountains, and we could see only a few yards from us. If I could have spared the time, I would willingly have remained a day, even in our bad quarters, rather than have travelled through this interesting country in such weather.

A short ride brought us to the edge of the mountain of La Contadera, the second descent towards the coast. Here, at any other time, we should have enjoyed an extensive prospect; as it was, we saw only an ocean of mist. We found the descent very precipitous, more so than that of Los Gallos: the rock over which we passed, was worn in holes by the frequent passage of mules, and the wet rendered the path very slippery.

In this toilsome and dangerous descent, my

attention was attracted by the beauty of the rocks over which we were sliding. A carbonate of lime nearly transparent, veined and curled in a beautiful manner, which the moisture brought into light, and exhibited to great advantage. This is the *Tecalli* so much used in church ornaments in Mexico.

From the foot of the mountain, we proceeded along a fine fertile valley, cultivated in Indian corn, pumpkins, beans and pease; and at eleven o'clock stopped to breakfast at a rancho, prettily situated in a grove of orange trees. Our last descent brought us into the warm region, and the second crop of corn is but just ripe.

The mist still continued, and we found some travellers from the coast huddling round a fire, and complaining very much of the cold.

This is about the dividing line, where the inhabitants of the table land begin to suffer from the influence of the heat; and those of the coast to wrap themselves in warm clothing, and to complain of the cold.

We breakfasted on venison, which is plentiful in this tract of country, and set off again at twelve. After winding along this valley for an hour and a half, we issued on a very extensive plain, on the north-eastern extremity of which stands the town of Santa Barbara. It is surrounded by a variety of beautiful evergreens, oranges, bananas, and mimosas of great height, and some more than fifteen feet in circumference; and as we approached, we perceived wreaths of snow on the heights above it.

The town itself, which we entered about three o'clock in the afternoon, is a collection of thatched cottages, scattered among a grove of evergreens. On the square, which is shaded by some very fine trees, there is a large church built of stone, and two neat stone houses nearly completed.

Strolling through the village, I stopped to speak to two ladies, who were standing at the door of one of the largest and neatest cottages. They invited me in, and seemed delighted to have an opportunity of asking about the fashions of other countries, and how the ladies dressed in the other America.

They had on pearl necklaces, and dark striped calico dresses, which cost, they told me, two dollars and a half a yard, and which was certainly not worth half a dollar.

They rejoiced with exceeding great joy at the independence of the country—"Now, that we are not governed by the *gachupines*, we shall be supplied with handsome stuffs at a cheap rate." From a better motive, no doubt, the ladies of New Spain have always favoured the cause of independence. I have, too, found them every where republicans.

Santa Barbara is renowned for the manufacture of stamped leather, for saddle-covers and leggins. The Mexican saddle consists of three pieces, the pad, the tree, which resembles a demipique saddle, and the leather-cover, which is always finely ornamented. Silao and Leon, small towns near Guanaxuato, are famed for embroidered saddle

covers. I ride on a Mexican saddle, and on mountainous roads prefer it to one of ours.

The person is better supported in ascending and descending, and the large wooden stirrups protect the feet from trees and rocks. Over the pummel, which is very high, are hung two skins, which cover the thighs, legs, and feet, protecting them from thorns, and sheltering them from rain. The Mexicans cover the flank of the horse with thick leather, having small pieces of iron attached to it, which jingle as the horse paces along. These covers were introduced by Cortez to protect the horse from the arrows of the natives.

4th December.— Off at four. The heat is now very intense, and ought to be avoided as much as possible. As the day dawned, we approached the edge of the plain ; and from the summit of the mountain of Chamal, we looked back on the beautiful plain over which we had just passed. It is well cultivated and fertile.

The sun rose as we descended the mountain, and disclosed a vast tract of level country beneath us, partially cultivated, and skirted on the north by wild and rugged mountains.

On the eastern extremity of this plain, rises a lofty insulated rock of a singular shape, called the *Bernal* of *Orcasitas*. At the foot of the mountain, we passed the hacienda of *Chamal*, belonging to the wealthy order of Carmelites, and then entered on an extensive plain covered with palm trees, like those, that grow on our sea islands, called palmettoes. We stopped and got some

palm cabbages, with the use of which the people here are well acquainted.

At ten o'clock we reached the edge of this plain, and the summit of the mountain of *Cucharras*. This descent, the last towards the coast, is the most precipitous, but the height of the *Cucharras* is not equal to that of the *Gallos, Contadera* or *Chamal*.

At eleven, we stopped at the foot of the mountain, in a deep wood, near the head of a fine stream of water, where our mules were unloaded, and a fire kindled; and under the shade of a spreading mimosa, we partook of an excellent breakfast, and reposed from the fatigue of a ride of seven hours.

At one, we were again on the road, and soon left the wood and passed through a more open country, interspersed with cultivated fields and trees of mimosa, yucca, and palms. At half-past four o'clock, we alighted at a rancho, on the bank of the river Limon. The cottage where we are lodged is neatly plaistered inside and out, and is thatched with the palmetto leaf, which makes a much better and lighter roof than straw.

I have just been disturbed by a strange notion of the woman of the house. Seeing her with a young child in her arms, I patted its cheek and complimented the mother on its beauty and healthy appearance. As the little urchin shortly after began to squall lustily, and would not be pacified, the poor woman immediately attributed its uneasiness to my having touched it with an evil hand. Putting down the child, she brought

me a cup of water, and with some hesitation, begged me for the Virgin's sake, to dip my fingers in the cup. After I had complied, she asked me with great earnestness, if that was the hand with which I had touched the child, and being assured of this, forced the water down its throat. The infant, exhausted by screaming and bawling, went to sleep soon after, and she was delighted with the success of her application.

I have found the peasantry of this country, both Indians and casts, an amiable and a kind people, possessing the utmost good nature, and great natural politeness. I have never seen in the country, any one of them make use of a vulgar gesture, nor heard a harsh or even an unkind word pass between them. When drunk, they are ungovernable, and are savage and brutal in the extreme ; but their drunken fits are " few, and far between ;" and when sober, they are humble to their superiors, submissive and docile ; and to each other kind and polite. They are, I think, a virtuous and an orderly people, attentive to all the ceremonies of their religion, and observant of their moral duties. Thefts are so uncommon among them, that our baggage was generally left under a shed ; and assassinations are extremely rare, and when they do occur, may always be traced to drunkenness.

I was surprised to find this state of morals existing among the peasantry of a country, so lately devastated by civil war, forming a strong contrast with the character of the lower orders of people in the capital, and in other large cities

in the kingdom, immoral and vicious in the extreme.

5th December.—We were up and ready at the usual hour, but had to wait some time for a guide to pilot us over the river. To ford a deep stream, so common in other parts of America, is here an event. We have, since leaving Mexico, forded two small, shallow rivulets, and passed a great number of beds of torrents, perfectly dry; but the Limon was up to the saddle girths, and tolerably rapid. We crossed it a little before five o'clock, and found the vegetation, on the opposite bank, very luxuriant and beautiful.

The mimosas were five and six feet in diameter, and very lofty: and the canes not less than four, and some five inches in diameter, and from thirty to forty feet high. These are used for beams and rafters, in the construction of cottages.

On leaving the margin of the river, we left all appearance of rich and luxuriant vegetation, and for six hours passed over a plain, arid, parched, and thinly wooded with mimosas and small shrubs. In the course of this ride we saw two herds of deer—they appeared not quite so large as those of our country; a flock of large curlews, and some hares and partridges. The hare is rather larger than that of Europe, which it resembles in appearance and habits. It is not at all like the hare found in the upper plains of Buenos Ayres, and described by Azara. The plumage of this small partridge, or rather quail, is of a dove colour, with light brown spots. It has a small tuft of feathers on the head, and is a

very beautiful bird. Its habits are the same as those of our quail.

About half-past ten, we reached the termination of one plain, and descended by a precipitous path, not three hundred yards long, into another; crossing at the foot of the hill, the river Raya de Sargento. We stopped to breakfast near this river at eleven o'clock. That you may not be uneasy at these long fasts, I ought to inform you, that we always take a cup of chocolate before we set out in the morning. We have a mule load of provisions, and carry along with us cold fowls, bread, wine, and coffee. My servant is a very tolerable cook—and stretched under the shade of mimosa, we breakfast most luxuriously. At one o'clock we were again on the road, and for two hours passed over a sterile plain, where we were again very much incommoded by the dust and wind. At three, we entered the town of Orcasitas, an open square, with a few wooden thatched cottages, and a thatched church. There is but one house built of adobes, and in that we are well lodged. The owner tells us, that this town has been twice laid in ashes by fire, and that he thought it better to build of adobes, and to cover his house with tiles, at any expence, than again to run the risk of being burnt out.

The *Bernal* of *Orcasitas,* the insulated rock I before mentioned, is in the neighbourhood of this town. It has a singular appearance, rising, as it does, to a great height, abruptly in the midst of an extensive plain. Here, with some difficulty, we have furnished ourselves with provisions, for

the remainder of our journey. We have been obliged to have the sheep butchered and the bread baked. The inhabitants eat nothing but tortillas, beans, and a little dried beef or mutton.

6th December.—The north wind continues to blow with great violence, and we did not set out until eight o'clock We passed over a sterile plain for five hours, and at one, reached the rancho of Carizo, a collection of miserable huts. We found some difficulty in lodging ourselves. The huts are all too small to hold any but the family; and how they all contrive to inhabit so small a space, is a mystery to me. After riding about for some time, we found a hut, that has been lately abandoned, and have taken possession of it.

We have been more distressed to-day than usual by the high wind, dust, and heat of the sun, and I am going to bed with a violent head-ache—the only time I have felt indisposed since I have been in this country.

7th December.—Awoke in the morning refreshed and free from pain, and at five o'clock, we continued our journey over a widely extended plain, skirted with very extensive woods.

We passed the enclosure of a large grazing farm through a gate, where there is a solitary hut: this is called *Puerta Primera*—and after five hours' ride, we alighted at another hut with a gate situated in the same manner, called *Puerta Secunda*. The land enclosed in this way affords very rich pasturage for cattle. We found some travellers here from *Pueblo viejo de Tampico*, and to our utter dismay learnt, that the Corvette had

not yet been seen. They said the town was sickly, and informed us of the death of the captain of an American schooner.

Carizo, the place we left this morning, is a hacienda of cattle, sheep, horses, and mules. We are now in the land of herdsmen and shepherds, and find all that abundance of the necessaries of life, and all that want of comfort, which, in general, attend this mode of life.

In this mild region, and in the midst of abundant pastures, cattle follow the general law of nature—they increase and multiply in proportion to the means of subsistence, and so long as the grass grows, and the waters flow, the herdsman and the shepherd are in no danger of wanting the necessaries of life. They eat the flesh of the animals they tend, and clothe themselves with their fleece or their skins. This state of society is attended with some of the dangers, and with all the alternate activity and indolence, of the hunter's life. The great difference between them is the certainty of abundant subsistence to the shepherd. The transition from the hunter's state, to that of the shepherd, is easy and natural. But difficult as it is to render hunters agriculturists, it is infinitely more so to make them pass through the regular stages of civilization, and from shepherds render them cultivators of the soil. The Tartars, who inhabit the borders of the Caspian sea, furnish a remarkable instance of this. Living in a fertile territory, they have been shepherds from time immemorial, and still retain all the habits ascribed to them by Herodotus.

At three o'clock we passed through the *Puerta Ultima*, and travelled over the plain for two hours, when we reached the edge of a deep wood, where we shall bivouac for the night. We have kindled a large fire, and protected ourselves from the dew as well as we can, by bushes and our tarpaulins, and have stuck up an umbrella or two for farther shelter. Our mules are browsing around us, our supper is cooking, and the whole party look strangely by the red light of a blazing fire. This bivouacing, however, is much more romantic in appearance, than comfortable in reality, particularly in a country where the dews are very injurious to health.

8th December.—We were early up, but spent some time collecting the mules. The muleteers here, as in every part of Spanish America, lead along a mare with a bell, which all the mules follow. At night, where there are no enclosures, they fasten her to a stake; sometimes the mules are fettered; but without this precaution they never stray from the mare. We set off between five and six o'clock, and continued for some time to thread a deep wood. At eight we passed the *Estero*, a large pond where our muleteers proposed to encamp last night, but the dread of musquetoes deterred me from proceeding so far. These troublesome insects are here equally annoying in summer and winter.

From the Estero, we passed through a tract of country alternately wooded and open, but uncultivated and abounding in cattle, to *Altamira*. Heavens! what a place to be called Altamira!

The town consists of a few tolerable houses on the square, a church, and a collection of thatched cottages, and it commands a view of swamps and lagunes. We are uncomfortably lodged, and have had a bad dinner after a long fast, for we were on horse-back nearly seven hours, so I will say no more of Altamira until to-morrow.

CHAPTER XIV.

Altamira—Pueblo viejo de Tampico—Havana—Island of Cuba—Piracy.

9TH DECEMBER.—And little more can I say of Altamira to-day. We rejoice that our journey is over, for it rained all night, and it rains still, and will probably continue to rain all day. Our things are all damp, our room is covered with mud, and we are in a forlorn condition.

Both this place and Tampico are sickly. Here bilious fevers prevail, and there yellow fever. We are rather inclined to take our chance of the former; and I have dispatched a courier to Tampico, to direct that information be sent us, as soon as the Corvette appears off the coast.

You will perceive that the order of the seasons is not exactly the same in the low countries, as on the table land Here it rains in the winter as well as in the summer, although much less water falls at this season of the year.

From the 9th to the 13th.—Employed myself translating state papers, and Iturbide's absurd proclamations and speeches, and in arranging my notes, so as to give a brief sketch of the principal

events that preceded the dissolution of congress. This occupation has enabled me to bear with this detestable place.

It has rained incessantly ever since our arrival. If we look out, we see a few thatched cottages, and a river winding through marshes, very like Goose Creek, in South Carolina, and too frequently the dying and the dead borne past our door to the hospital, and to the grave. Even the miserable beings, that crawl by, are yellow and emaciated.

14th December.—We have just received by express from Tampico, the glad tidings of the arrival of our ship, and are preparing to leave this city of cottages. All is joy and bustle in our little apartment.

15th.—Yesterday towards evening, it began to blow very fresh from the north-west, and soon increased to a violent gale. We were advised to postpone our departure until morning, and told that no ship could remain upon the coast in such weather. We had a lake to pass, which is much exposed to the north winds, and is considered a dangerous canoe navigation. I found, however, no reluctance on the part of the boatmen to proceed immediately; and my own anxiety to join the ship, vanquished my fears—so we embarked a little after dark in two large canoes.

We poled down the river, keeping near the edge of the marsh, and at one o'clock found ourselves at the entrance of the lake. Our boatmen reposed here for two hours, and then launched our frail barks into deep water. We passed the lake in

safety, and suffered no other inconvenience, than rolling heavily and shipping a little water. At daylight we passed three schooners lying in the river, and before sunrise landed at *Pueblo viejo de Tampico.*

We found our way to a coffee-house kept by a Frenchman, or rather by a Creole woman of New Orleans, married to a Frenchman, who goes about the house like a tame cat, while she transacts all the business. We have one room which opens on the dining room, and is a thoroughfare, and contains on boxes and barrel heads all the crockery, and is besides inhabited by two parrots.

The ship is gone. The midshipman sent on shore for us, has just returned from the signal post, and brings this disagreeable news. It blew so hard that I scarcely expected any vessel could remain at anchor in so open a roadstead.

The crew are on short allowance. The ship has been on the coast fifteen days without being able to approach the land, from continued gales of wind from the north-west; and I fear must bear away for some other port.

16th December.—It rains: and nothing can be seen from the *Mira* (the Look-out.) The captain of the Ned, a Baltimore schooner, died of black vomit, in the room, and in the very corner, where I slept last night. I'll move my quarters.

17th.—Weather clear, but not a speck to be seen on the horizon.

This *Pueblo viejo* is a dirty town, and much worse built than *Altamira.* It is situated about five leagues from the sea, on the margin of a

small lake, and commands a distant prospect of the mountains.

It is amusing to see the activity and bustle of business in this city of thatched cottages. A retailer, in a miserable room, not ten feet square, with two barrels stuck up on a dirt floor, and a board laid over them for a counter, will sell five hundred dollars worth of goods in a day. The people flock to this market from many miles around, and especially from the neighbourhood of *Panuco*, situated near the head of the river of the name.

I moved on the sixteenth to another house, but out of the frying pan into the fire. I was kept awake all last night by the groans of an unfortunate man, who was dying in the next room, and from whom I was separated by a thin partition. I ordered my servant this morning to find other lodgings. The master of the house seeing preparations going on for removing, expressed his regret, that I should be so soon tired of my quarters. After hearing my reasons, he said, coolly, that I need not move on that account. "The man is dead, and you will not be disturbed to-night." My servant tells me there is another sick in the house. So we have moved again.

In the afternoon, we visited the American schooners that are lying in the river. The Ned is by far the best vessel; and if it sails before we hear of our ship, I will go in it to Baltimore. I dislike very much this class of vessels. The only accident I ever met with at sea, was in one of them. Fortunately, the masts went overboard,

or we should have gone down. It was, however, a disagreeable thing to be left in the middle of the ocean without masts; and I have had an aversion to Baltimore schooners ever since.

19th December.—We were awakened very early by a messenger dispatched from the *Mira*, to inform us that a sail was in sight. I mounted a horse immediately and rode over the hills to the Look-out, for the ocean cannot be seen from the town. It proved to be another schooner; and I continued my ride over the country, which is very broken and hilly near Tampico, and covered with wood. There is but little grass, and the cattle and horses that are kept up, are fed with the green leaves of trees.

30th.—I was cheered this morning with the agreeable news of the Corvette being off the coast. I rode again to the *Mira;* but, after passing two hours anxiously looking into the mist that obscured the horizon, returned disappointed.

Some time after dark, we received intelligence from the bar, of the ship being really off the coast, in the bay of Altamira, a few miles north of Tampico: I am resolved to go to sea to-morrow morning in search of it.

21st.—At five in the morning, we set out in two canoes loaded with our baggage, and with bread for the ship's use. We descended the river rapidly, and passed a great many fish traps and shrimp nets. This river abounds with shrimps; and some of these fishing places rent for five hundred dollars per annum. The shrimps are boiled in salt and water, and are then dried and

packed in bales of a hundred weight. They are sent to every part of the kingdom; and are said to retain their flavour, and to keep good for twelve months. I have laid in a stock for the passage.

On arriving at the bar, we could not learn the exact position of the ship; and a heavy mist prevented our seeing more than a few yards. One of the pilots assured us he had seen the Corvette on the night before in the bay of Altamira, and offered to take us to it if I would give him one hundred and fifty dollars, to compensate him for the risk he ran in going to sea in such weather. I would have given three hundred rather than return to Tampico. So our baggage was transferred on board a sixteen oared boat, and after a *pro forma* visit from the custom-house officer, we put to sea. This bar in blowing weather is very dangerous—a heavy sea rolls on it, and the channel, which admits vessels of only eight feet draught, is very narrow.

After passing it, we lay for some time on our oars, debating which way we should steer, when we descried through the mist a small boat approaching us.

It proved to be one of our ship's cutters, having the first lieutenant on board. We took him into our barge, and followed the small boat. Although they had the bearings of the ship, we found some difficulty in finding it on account of the mist; and we were enabled to do so only by firing guns, which were answered by the Corvette. At eleven o'clock we saw the masts looming through the fog,

and were soon alongside. We were received with three hearty cheers, and it would be difficult to say, which party was most rejoiced—those, who were relieved from cruising on a dangerous coast, in a boisterous season—or those, who had escaped from a land of pestilence.

23d December.—We remained from the 21st rolling about in calm weather, with light head winds. A boat from shore, this morning, brought us the important intelligence of a movement in Vera Cruz against the imperial government.

24th December.—Last night at nine o'clock, the wind shifted to the north, and so suddenly freshened to a gale, that we had not time to get up our kedge anchor, but were obliged to cut the hawser and make sail. In a few minutes after, the ship was going through the water at the rate of seven knots by the log. The northers, as these gales of wind are called in the Gulf of Mexico, generally blow from north-north-west to north-west, and they come up in an instant. From a perfect calm, the wind increased to a gale, in less than ten minutes. It continued to blow hard all night, accompanied with a very heavy sea, which rises almost as suddenly as the wind. At two o'clock to-day the wind moderated, and the sea has since fallen very much. We have shaped our course for Havana.

On the morning of the 5th of January, we were in sight of the coast of Cuba, a few miles to the west of Havana, and in the afternoon entered this fine harbour. The view of the country, of the city, and of the fortifications which

crown the heights, is very beautiful, and the approach and entrance of the port, afford as charming a prospect as can be imagined. The land is gently undulating, the hill sides covered with fresh verdure, and the valleys present the dark foliage and luxuriant vegetation of the tropics.

To me, who have so lately contemplated the sublime scenery of the table land of Mexico, that before me looks tame ; but the effect is pleasing, and the environs of Havana possess all the soft and smiling beauties of nature.

The entrance of the harbour is narrow and is strongly fortified. It opens into a spacious basin, where there is sufficient depth of water, to float line of battle ships, and which is now crowded with merchantmen. On one side of this basin stands the city of *Havana,* apparently very compactly built, and on the opposite shore the town of *Regla:* and the heights that command the port, are, to all appearance, strongly fortified.

My curiosity is not so eager as formerly, and I have not yet been on shore, but have contented myself on board, looking at the city and country, and reading newspapers from the United States, which were kindly furnished us by a merchant of the place.

The 6th January.—Landed this morning at the Quay, a long range of wooden platform, extending along the walls of the city. It was thronged with people, actively engaged in loading and unloading the vessels which were lying close together ; their bowsprits projecting over the

platform. I have never seen so much shipping, and such an appearance of business, in any port in the United States, except New York, and there it is not, as here, concentrated in one spot.

It is the rainy season of Cuba, and we made our way through the narrowest and the dirtiest streets in Christendom. In some of the towns of Asia, I have seen the streets of a whole town, as narrow, as filthy, and as badly paved; and some few streets in Lisbon, and in the towns of the south of Europe, are almost equal to the streets of Havana. We passed a square, nearly ankle deep in mud, and plunged along to the house of a Creole gentleman, to whom I had brought letters of introduction.

As we shall sail to-morrow, if the wind proves fair, I lost no time, but drove in this gentleman's volante, first, all over the city, and then visited the Bishop's Quinta.

The *volante* of Havana is a large gig, with a leather top, and very high, stout wheels, and drawn by a single mule, on which the driver is mounted. We moved through the streets more rapidly than I had expected, from the weight of the vehicle, splashing the luckless foot passengers without pity. We passed along the *Alameda*, a public walk, planted with trees, and through a gate, into suburbs better laid out than the city, and much wider streets, but not so well built up. The country near our road to the Quinta, is undulating, very fertile, and laid out in fields, enclosed with hedges of orange and lemon trees, and interspersed with clumps of palms.

The Bishop's country house is a neat small building, and the garden is prettily situated. We saw no great variety of shrubs, but every tree and plant are of vigorous growth. Leading to the house, there is an avenue of bread-fruit trees, which are large and productive. We walked up to a square wooden tower, erected on a neighbouring height. From it we enjoyed a view of the city, the basin covered with shipping, of the sea, and of a beautiful portion of the Island.

7th January.—The wind is not fair, and I crossed over immediately after breakfast to the town of Regla. It is situated on the opposite side of the basin, but may be considered as a suburb of Havana. The communication is so constant, that more than eighty boats are employed between the two places. I walked about this city of pirates, who are organised into a society, calling themselves Mussulmen. In this place, the trade of plunder is so openly carried on, that a woman apologised for the absence of her husband, by saying that he had gone on a cruise with the *Mussulmen*, i. e. the pirates: and in all the skirmishes with our ships of war, their wounded have been brought to this place, and been attended by surgeons from Havana. These fellows are so numerous, that the public authorities are, I believe, afraid to meddle with them; and when they are arrested, it costs them only a small part of their ill-gotten wealth, and a few days' confinement.

We got into a volante drawn by two mules, and toiled up the highest chain of hills in the

island, to *Guanabacoa*, a large well built village, to which the inhabitants of the island retire, during the heat of summer. We drove through the principal street, and stopped a short distance from the village at the mineral baths. The water is slightly impregnated with iron and sulphur. The chain of hills over which we passed, between Regla and Guanabacoa, are about two hundred and fifty feet high, and are of primitive formation. In the hills which branch off towards the village, we found nothing but serpentine, with pyrites of copper and iron. East of the baths of Barreto, there is a vein of *calcedony*. This chain of hills terminates at Marimelena, where *syenite* is said to exist in large quantities. I am informed, that the western part of the island is of secondary formation.

There are several well built houses in Guanabacoa. We visited a spacious handsome edifice, belonging to an English merchant, delightfully situated, and commanding a view of a fine country on the one side, and of the bay and harbour of Havana on the other.

On our return, we visited the botanical garden. The original design was good; but it now looks much more like a kitchen garden than any thing else. All these institutions in the colonies depend upon the character of the chief. Under an enlightened man, they are fostered, and flourishing; under an ignorant one, they are neglected, and fall to ruin. This has been exemplified by the fate of the patriotic society, which was established for the encouragement of the arts and sciences. At

times, it has flourished, and has proved eminently useful, but is now totatly neglected. General *Vives*, the captain general lately appointed, is anxiously expected; and, from the character he bears, the Creoles hope, that he will protect all their useful institutions. His predecessor, *Mahy*, was very generally esteemed, and is represented to have been a very amiable and excellent man.

8th January.—The ship is still detained by adverse winds; and I have been busily employed all day collecting some statistical information relative to this island. To do this well in a Spanish colony is always difficult, and requires time. If, therefore, you find what I have been able to collect but a meagre account, you must make all due allowances for the situation in which I am placed.

Cape Maire, the eastern extremity of Cuba, is in 74° 02′ west longitude, and in 20° 15′ north latitude. Cape Antonio, the western extremity, is in 84° 55′ west longitude, and in 22° 06′ north latitude. Cape Cruz, the most southern cape in it, is in 19° 48′ north latitude, and 77° 56′ west longitude. Moro Castle, the most northern extremity, is in 23° 12′ north latitude, and 82° 16′ west longitude. The island is about seven hundred miles long, and seventy miles in breadth. A chain of hills runs through the centre of it from east to west; from which the land gradually inclines on either side towards the coast. The face of the country is broken into hill and valley and flats. The sides of the hills are in some situations cultivated, and are generally fertile; but

the soil is liable to be washed off by the heavy rains that fall in these latitudes. The valleys and plains are extremely rich and fertile. The principal products are sugar, coffee and tobacco.

During the last seven years, the average crop has been 300,000 boxes of sugar, of 400 pounds each, and 25,000,000 pounds of coffee.*

By the Spanish constitution, the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico, were integral parts of the monarchy, and were governed like the provinces of old Spain. They are now governed by a captain general. This island is divided into two provinces, Havana and Cuba; the boundary line runs north and south, between Espiritu Santo and Puerto Principe, twenty-five leagues from each of these towns.

The captain general resides at the city of Havana, but there is at Puerto Principe, an audiencia or supreme court, having jurisdiction over the Island of Puerto Rico, as well as of Cuba.

* In 1803, the exports from the Havana are estimated by Baron Humboldt at 8,000,000 of dollars—158,000 boxes of sugar, which he considered worth 40 dollars per box—50,000 arrobas of coffee, worth 5 dollars the arroba—and 40,000 arrobas of wax, at 18 dollars the arroba.

In 1821, the exports were	236,669	boxes of sugar,
	792,509½	arrobas of coffee,
	15,724½	do. wax,
	26,664½	molasses,
	4,646½	pipes of rum:
Shewing an increase in the exports of the island of	78,669	boxes of sugar,
Of	742,509	arrobas of coffee.
And a diminution of	24,276	arrobas of wax.

By the census taken in 1817,* it appears that the population then amounted to—

Secular clergy, . . .	515		
Regular do.	348		
Nuns, ...	171		
		1,034	whites.
Troops, regular and militia, . .		19,430	
White men, . . .	129,656		
White women, . .	109,140		
		238,796	
Free coloured men,	70,512		
Free coloured women,	29,170		
		99,682	
Carried forward,			358,942

* In 1804, the island of Cuba, according to Humboldt, contained 432,000 inhabitants, of which 234,000 were whites,
90,000 were free coloured persons,
108,000 were slaves.

432,000

From 1804 to 1817, there were imported, ...	95,606
Which added to the number of slaves in 1804, . . .	108,000
	203,606
The slave population according to the census of 1817,	199,145
Loss, ...	4,461

In 1817, there were capable of bearing arms, from 15 years of age to 60:

Whites, ...	71,047
Free coloured persons, ...	17,862
Free blacks, ...	17,246
Coloured persons, slaves, ...	10,506
Negro slaves, ...	75,393

Average increase per annum, from 1804 to 1817—19,077. Supposing an average increase of 20,000 to 1822, inclusive, will make the present population of the Island 725,079.

	Brought forward,		358,942
Free black men, . .	28,373		
Free black women, .	26,002		
		54,375	
Coloured slaves, men,	17,803		
Coloured slaves, women,	14,499		
		32,302	
Black slaves, men, .	106,521		
Black slaves, women,	60,322		
		166,843	
			253,520
Slaves introduced in 1817, ...			25,976
Transient population, ...			32,641
Total in 1817,			671,079

The province of Havana, lately erected into a bishopric, comprehends Matanzas, Trinidad, Espiritu, Santo Remidios and Villa Clara. It contains a population of—

Whites, ...	197,658
Free coloured persons, ...	58,506
Slaves, ...	136,213
Troops, ...	14,000
Transient persons, ...	25,000
Total,	431,377

The capital of the district of the province of Havana, according to the division made by the provincial deputation, are Havana, town of Santiago, city of Bijucal, town of San Antonio Abad, Guanjay, Guanabacoa, Filipimas, Iaruco,

Guines, city of Matanzas, Santa Clara, city of Trinidad.

The city of Havana, by the census of 1817,

contained within the walls, ...	44,319
In the suburbs, ...	39,279
Ecclesiastics and nuns, ...	477
Troops in garrison, ...	10,567
Negroes introduced in 1817, ...	25,976
The transient population, ...	20,000
Total,	140,618

Of these 37,885 were white, 9,010 free coloured, 12,361 free blacks, 2,543 coloured slaves, 21,799 black slaves, 83,598 permanent population of the city and suburbs.

White men capable of bearing arms, that is, from fifteen to sixty years of age, .	13,530
Black and coloured free persons, . .	8,111
Black and coloured slaves, ...	9,427
The annual consumption of the city is estimated at	4,489,030
The value of articles wrought up as bricks, &c.	318,776
The value of produce exported, . .	13,658,961
	$18,466,767

The number of vessels that entered the port of Havana in 1821, was 1,322, inclusive of 300 small coasters: of these, 385 were Spanish, 655 American, 128 English, 72 French, 25 Dutch, 25 Bremeners, 13 Danish, 9 Hamburgers, 6 Portuguese, 5 Swedes, 4 Sardinian, 3 Pirate's prizes, 1 Prussian, and 1 Hanoverian.

In 1122, there entered 1,296 vessels, of which, 382 were Spanish, 669 Americans, 118 English, 62 French, 18 Dutch, 12 Hamburgers, 7 Bremeners, 6 Danish, 7 Portuguese, 4 Swedes, 2 Pirate's prizes, 2 Sicilians, 1 Oldenburger, 1 Sardinian, and 1 Columbian, a prize.

When the census was taken in 1817, a note was made of the number of churches, houses, farms, &c. of which, it appears that there were—

Houses,	42,268
Churches,	204
Farm-Houses,	1,762
Coffee Plantations,	779
Tobacco Plantations,	1,601
Sugar Estates,	629
Breeding Farms,	830
Pastures,	1,193
Bee-hive Farms,	354
Cocoa Plantations,	17

The number of African slaves imported from the year 1800 to 1821, amounts to—

Year 1800	1,145	Brought up,	56,630
1801	1,659	Year 1811	6,349
1802	13,832	1812	6,081
1803	9,671	1813	4,770
1804	8,923	1814	4,321
1805	4,999	1815	9,111
1806	4,395	1816	17,733
1807	2,565	1817	25,841
1808	1,607	1818	19,902
1809	1,162	1819	17,194
1810	6,672	1820	4,122
	56,630	Total,	172,054

The amount of annual receipts from the custom-house* amount to about	$2,400,000
Receipt from taxes, ...	1,000,000
	$3,400,000

The expenses of the marine amount to about	$830,000
Those of the army, ...	1,390,876
The pay of those employed in the treasury, ...	273,876
Payment of pensions, ...	193,236
Expenses of fortification, &c. . .	142,788
Rations to families emigrated from Florida, ...	14,400
Pay of officers now unemployed from do.	54,072
Support of officers from Mexico and Caraccas, and their pay and transport,	825,396
Expences	3,724,644
Receipts,	3,400,000
Balance,	$324,644

The province of Cuba comprehends the districts of Santiago de Cuba, Bayanco, Holguin, Baracoa, and Puerto Principe, and contains a population of—

Whites, ...	59,722
Free coloured persons, ...	57,185
Carried forward,	116,907

* According to Baron Humboldt, in 1804, the revenue of the whole island produced $2,300,000, and the deficit was made up by a supply from Mexico of $1,326,000

Brought forward,	116,907
Slaves,	63,079
Troops,	4,430
Transient persons,	9,286
Total,	193,702

There are six cities and six towns, in this province, that have Ayuntamientos. The cities are *Santiago de Cuba,* Holguin, Barocoa, Puerto Principe, Bayanco, Guirza. The towns, Higuani Caney, Cobre, Tiguabos, Manzanillo, Nuevitas.

This province was erected into an archbishopric in 1804.

9th January.—In the course of the morning, I visited the building formerly belonging to the Dominicans, but now converted into barracks for the militia. As we walked round the deserted corridors, we met a solitary monk. He took no notice of us, but seemed lost in thought, reflecting, perhaps, on the downfal of the power and influence of the church, in the most catholic of countries.

Three monks, too old and infirm to remove, are permitted to remain in the convent.

The execution of the decree of the Cortes, abolishing certain orders of monks, and appropriating their possessions to the uses of government, caused no unpleasant feelings in Cuba. No greater proof can be given of the advancement of this people in civilization, and in liberal principles, than the effect produced by the promulgation of that decree. It was received with approbation by all the inhabitants; and, although executed in mercy, it was executed joyfully.

I have, however, always considered this measure on the part of Spain as highly impolitic. In attacking the wealthy orders, it was supposed that the mendicant friars would be won over to the government party. It is true, that great jealousy always existed between them; but the poor monks regarded this act, which violated the property of the church, as aimed against the influence of the clergy generally, and made common cause with the higher orders. The insurrectionary movements against the constitutional government, are to be attributed principally to this cause. The intrigues and money of the French cabinet could have effected nothing without the aid of the priesthood; and the radical defects of the constitution might have been amended without producing a convulsion in the state. The successful revolution in Mexico, and the separation of that country from the parent state, are due entirely to the effect produced by that decree from the Cortes.

I to-day returned several visits, and have been very much pleased with the interior of the houses in Havana. They are spacious, and well distributed—with an inner court-yard and piazzas, into which the rooms open. Many of them are splendidly furnished; and there is an appearance of opulence and comfort in the apartments of the titled and the wealthy, which I have never seen in any other Spanish colony—owing, it is to be presumed, to their foreign commerce. I found the gentlemen extremely hospitable, polite, and well informed. The women are very pretty:

many of them have light hair, and fair complexions; and they all have the glow of health on their cheeks.

This place, which is the tomb of strangers in summer, is perfectly healthy for the natives, and for those who are acclimatised. The interior is represented to be healthy at all seasons of the year, both to natives and to strangers.

10th January.—This harbour is easy of access; but when the wind sets into the bay, it is not easy to depart from it.

The channel is too narrow to admit a vessel to beat out of it; and a reef of rocks extends from the shore, so as to render it dangerous to attempt getting out without a leading wind.

The size, the wealth, the population, and especially the position of this island, render it an object of great political importance. The Europeans, and most of the Creoles, who possess large estates, are disposed to adhere to the mother country, under all circumstances: some of the Creoles, on the contrary, are disposed to shake off the yoke of Spain, lightly as it bears upon them, and to declare Cuba an independent government. The dread of the slave population and of the lower class of whites in the cities, will probably constrain them to be tranquil. What part they may take, in the event of an attack being made upon the island, by the free government of Mexico or Colombia, it is difficult to say. It is probable, that some effort will be made by those countries to revolutionize or to reduce the island. For so long as Spain holds Cuba, Puerto Rico,

the coast of the main, and of the Gulph of Mexico, are open to her fleets and armies. It is probable, however, that the course pursued by Colombia, with regard to their slave population, will probably prevent the Creoles of Cuba from listening to any proposals from that quarter. This is a subject highly important to our Southern Atlantic States, and I am glad to find that every precaution will be used to prevent the black population from gaining an ascendancy in this island.

What, however, I dread still more, and what in my opinion would be much more detrimental to our interests, is the occupation of this island by a great maritime power. Such an event would not only deprive us of this extensive and profitable branch of commmerce, but in case of war with that nation, (an event which would probably be hastened by our proximity,) would give her a military position, from whence she might annihilate all our commerce in these seas—might invade our defenceless southern maritime frontier, whenever she thought proper—and might effectually blockade all the ports, and shut up the outlets of our great western waters.

Cuba is not only the key of the Gulph of Mexico, but of all the maritime frontier south of Savannah, and some of our highest interests, political and commercial, are involved in its fate. We ought to be satisfied, that it should remain dependent on Spain; or in good time, be entirely independent of every foreign nation. In the first case, we shall enjoy all the commercial advantages which we do at present, and which our

proximity and mutual wants secure to us. In the latter case, the same causes will continue to operate, and we must remain closely united by a common interest. The independence of Cuba would not increase those advantages, but might produce others that would be common to all commercial nations. The Creoles, who now regard with indignation the want of energy, and the corruption of the public authorities of the island, would put a stop to the trade of blood and plunder so openly exercised by the lower order of European inhabitants.

This banditti would no longer be countenanced and protected, but would be compelled to leave the island, or to abandon their infamous pursuits.

11th January.—We got under weigh this morning, and stood out to sea with a favourable breeze. A fleet of merchantmen took advantage of our convoy, and it was a pleasing sight, as we receded from the land, to look over the sea studded with vessels under full sail, and view the city and fortifications of Havana, and the fields and hills back of them covered with verdure, and crowned with stately palms.

I cannot take leave of Cuba, without adverting to the scandalous system of piracy, organized by the lawless banditti of Havana and Regla, and countenanced and protected by the subaltern authorities of the Island.

The pirates are so numerous and daring, and their leaders have acquired so much by plunder, that the timid are awed, and the corrupt are

bribed to pass unnoticed their frequent and flagrant violations of the laws.

From Regla, vessels proceed on piratical cruises and return openly. The plundered goods are stored and sold, with scarcely a decent attempt to conceal the manner in which they were acquired. Persons well known in Havana, have proposed to the owners of fast sailing American vessels to purchase them, avowing their intention to convert them into cruisers. Attempts have been made to cut such vessels out of the harbour, and to obtain forcible possession of them.

Articles, plundered on the high seas, have been publicly exposed for sale in the city, and when identified as such, persons have been brought to swear that they were their property, and brought by them from other parts of the island. These men care not to elude detection, for they are sure to escape punishment, or even the restitution of their plunder. Although I believe that the subaltern magistrates alone profit by the sale of temporal indulgences, and by conniving at this system of villany, still the higher authorities of the island are not free from censure.

When the British squadron arrived here, with an order from the Spanish government to the captain general, directing him to co-operate with the commander in suppressing piracy, that officer refused to do so, and declared that he had no disposeable force. At that moment there were nearly five thousand men in Havana, and a fleet lying in the harbour of three corvettes, of twenty-six guns each, a brig of war, and four schooners.

This fleet has never been sent against the pirates, and it is worthy of remark, that in no instance has a vessel under a Spanish flag been plundered by them.

In the ports of Vera Cruz and Tampico, the Spanish merchants consider this flag a sufficient protection, and do not hesitate to ship specie on board Spanish merchantmen. And what remedy can we apply to this widely extended evil, unless the authorities of the Island co-operate with us?

We are about to send a flying squadron under an able, experienced, and enterprising commander, and I can have no doubt that he will do all that can be done to suppress piracy along this coast. But his little fleet can not be every where, nor remain for ever. These men are patient—indeed, they can afford to wait their opportunity; they need run no unnecessary risk.

They will lay up their fast sailing vessels, or run them on lawful voyages, until we are tired of the expense of maintaining so large a squadron in these seas—and in the mean time, they will contrive to harass our trade, by pouncing upon the defenceless merchantmen, from the headlands of their bays and harbours, in open boats. I hazard nothing in asserting, that piracy will not be completely put a stop to, until the public authorities of Cuba and Puerto Rico are compelled to expel from their territory, all who are known to be engaged either in fitting out licensed or unlicensed piratical vessels, or in receiving and selling goods plundered on the high seas. All the great commercial nations of the world, ought to unite to induce or to compel Spain to adopt some such

measure. If that nation does not possess the power of carrying it into effect, the United States ought to lend the necessary aid to insure its execution.

I come now to a subject on which I scarcely dare trust myself to write—the cruel outrages and indignities inflicted upon our fellow-citizens by the vile rabble of Havana. I pass over the cruelties and murders committed by pirates. Our sufferings in this particular are common to all commercial nations. But the savage treatment our merchants, ship-masters, and seamen, have sometimes endured in this city, calls for some remedy.

Repeated instances have occurred of vessels being plundered at the quay, and the masters and crews cruelly maltreated, while defending their own property. American citizens have been insulted by officers and soldiers, and if they dared to reply, have been seized, dragged to the guard-house, put in the stocks, and exposed during a whole night to the scoffs and ribaldry of a licentious soldiery. Our commercial agents are not acknowledged as such by the authorities of Havana, and dare not even make a remonstrance against these wanton acts of cruelty.

Our citizens trading to foreign ports, are amenable to the laws of the country where they may chance to be; but the protection of those laws ought to be extended to them, and we ought to insist upon the right of having a consul or authorized agent to protect the persons and property of our citizens from violence and plunder.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I HAVE been furnished by a friend with the annexed account of his Journey from Tampico to the capital.

We set out from Pueblo viejo de Tampico on the 23d of May, at five, P. M.—passed through the new town of Tampico, and stopped for the night, at a farm house, a short distance from the road called El Arroyo del Monte. Nothing was to be procured here but water, and permission to sleep out of doors. Our first day's journey was only three leagues and a half; on the second day, we mounted our mules at four o'clock, and proceeded slowly but constantly until ten o'clock, when we stopped to refresh ourselves with sleep and food, having suffered much from heat and hunger. At the place we stopped to breakfast, we found a great many fine cows, and abundance of fowls, but not a cup of milk nor an egg to be procured. In the afternoon we continued our journey to a farm, beautifully situated on a hill, and commanding a very extensive, though not a varied prospect. At this house we experienced more true hospitality than in all the rest of the journey. Milk was produced in great abundance; the inside of the house offered to our use, and the mistress of the house took the matt from her own bed, to add to the comfort of one of our party, who had been so improvident as to come unprovided with a hammock. This farm is called Esterilla. We had now proceeded sixteen leagues, through a country, very level, with a rich, black soil: few trees, except palms, and but thinly inhabited; suffering much at the season we traversed it from drought. It was nearly the close of the dry season, which lasts, in this country, about seven months.

On the third day, we travelled through a broken and hilly country, where the soil was inferior to that we had previously seen, for a distance of thirteen leagues, to a farm called Las Huevas, (the Eggs.) If it ever had deserved the name, it has

sadly degenerated, as neither fowl nor egg could be discovered on the place. We this day passed the river Chiguian, nearly dried up. From the length of our ride, and the great heat of the weather, the mules with the baggage had not been able to reach our place of rest. This circumstance occasioned great delay in our fourth day's start, so that we only went as far as Tantayanca, a large Indian village, to breakfast; a distance of four leagues; and in the afternoon three leagues more, to the farm Las Flores. These seven leagues, we rode through a hilly country, of such an aspect as we would call mountainous, but is here classed among the levels; the elevations of the hills being so trifling, in comparison with those we were approaching. The soil on these hills is very rich, but the timber scarce and small. At sunset, we found ourselves about two miles from the end of our day's ride, at a river called Rio Caloboso, whose waters were so translucid and pure, that we eagerly enjoyed the delightful bathe they offered.

Our fifth day's march led us through a country whose appearance and character were similar to that we passed through the day before. We travelled eleven leagues—crossed Rio Tampia and Rio Zagualtipan, two rivers with large beds, but with little water, and lodged at the village La Pesca. From this village, which is built on a high hill, we had a distant prospect of some of the mountains we had to encounter. We had now travelled through a country apparently offering every inducement to the husbandman, and were a little surprised to find so few inhabitants in so fine a district. We were, then, ignorant of the fact, that for a great portion of the year, this district is almost destitute of water, and the rich soil cakes, hardens, and cracks to a great depth. Of this, we saw many instances, and more than once were obliged to ride twenty miles and upwards without being able to give water to our mules. Through this fine district, we also travelled a distance of an hundred miles, without being able to purchase a feed of corn, or grain of any kind. The only food the muleteers depend upon for the support of their animals, is the leaves of various bushes or little trees, whose names I did not learn.

On the sixth day, we set out at daylight, and soon entered the mountains, which now became very lofty and rugged. The roads very bad from the great number of large, loose stones that

encumbered them, and the sudden and precipitate descents and ascents that so frequently occurred. The heat was more oppressive than we had hitherto felt it. At mid-day, we halted at a very pretty stream, called Rio Zocutipan, where we bathed, and waited for the baggage mules. At three in the afternoon, we again mounted, and under the influence of a broiling sun, commenced the ascent of a steep and difficult mountain, of the great chain of *La Sierra Madre*, the name of the whole chain, over part of which we passed. The ascent was tedious and fatiguing, and occasionally the precipices that shewed themselves within a trifling distance of our mules' feet, were frightful. We stopped for the night, at a great height on the mountain, at an Indian village called Papatipan, and were accommodated, at the Alcade's house, with fowls, milk, eggs, and a kind of beer or pulque. On the seventh day, were early on the saddle; and, long ere the mists had left the valley below us, or the sun had made his appearance above the horizon, our mules were scrambling up terrific heights; and we were enjoying the sublime and dreadful. At the greatest heights, we found some tolerably large oaks, and occasionally some fine springs of water. After a long ride up the mountain, we came to the commencement of the descent, which was infinitely more steep than had been the ascent. We conceived it safer to take to foot, and accordingly, fastening the bridles to the mules' heads, we sent them in advance, and followed, rolling, stumbling, and tumbling down; for three-quarters of an hour, until we reached the village of Clacalula, composed of Indian huts, made of large reeds, with roofs that reached the ground, and covered with wild grass. At this village, we saw, for the first time, the natives employed in weaving a coarse cotton cloth, which is used by the women for mantles, which they wear on their heads; and which answered, at once, for bonnet and shawl. The same cloth also serves for shirts and pantaloons, for such of the men as wear either; they more usually make a cotton blanket, which they dignify with the name of cloak, and a miserable pair of leather breeches, answer all the necessary purposes of clothes.

After leaving Clacalula, we passed through another Indian village, called Chapula, and entered upon a most horrible road, which is in fact the bed of the river called Cañada, which now partially uncovered, afforded us a passage at once difficult,

curious, and sublime. This river passes, for three leagues, through a valley of a breadth, varying from one hundred and fifty, to five hundred feet; bounded on either side by precipices of white rock, in many places quite perpendicular, and from two to six hundred feet high. In this narrow valley, the river is confined, and in the space I have lately named, we crossed it seventy-six times—a number almost incredible; but it must be recollected, that the whole of the road through this valley consists in crossing and re-crossing this river Cañada. Upon leaving the river, we commenced the ascent of the immense mountain *Penulco*, which consumed two hours. The ascent is steep, and the road, which is excellent, being ten or twelve feet wide, and free of stones or rocks, is extremely tortuous, bringing you, at every turn, to the edge of a precipice, which increases regularly in height, danger, and magnificence. At eight o'clock, of a calm and sultry evening, we reached the summit. Penulco exceeded much in height any eminence we had passed. Much care had been bestowed on the road, which is naturally free from the impediments that obstruct most of the others. We had travelled this day ten leagues, and passed a road that cannot be used, after the rains begin to fall.

Our eighth day's journey was short: we only rode from Penulco to Zagualtipan, a distance of three leagues; during this ride, however, we ascended much; and, as well as we could judge from the road, were far above any land we had been on in the whole journey. The road was good and safe; and although the ascent was continued, it was regular. There was also a freshness in the air we had not before experienced, and we travelled without much fatigue. A fine view presented itself, as we made the small descent that led us to the city of Zagualtipan, which is a place of considerable size, and has some good houses built of brick and stone: of the latter, the quarries are very extensive and fine. The stone, is a white limestone, easy to work, soon becomes hard, and has a handsome appearance. With the exception of one house on the top of Penulco, the buildings we saw at this place and Tantayanca, were the only ones that were constructed of durable materials.

At Zagualtipan, we were politely received by an old gentleman, Captain Rivero, who gave us the use of his house, and

invited us to eat at his table. Our host told us the town contained twelve thousand souls: but I should suppose that half that number would be a large allowance. I judge from the buildings, of these, I counted two hundred, churches and public offices included. On the ninth day, we left Zagualtipan; and had a warm and unpleasant ride over a sterile, chalky descent of three leagues, in which nothing like vegetation was visible, excepting the prickly pear, the organ, and other plants of the same nature, that derive their sustenance from an arid soil and dry air, to the bed of the Rio Oquilcalco: (for not one drop of water was to be seen)—a small trench contained the whole stream, which had been diverted from its course to water a large field of corn, which seemed flourishing. When the river shall be renewed, this valley, I should suppose, would afford good crops, as it contains all the soil of the neighbouring hills ever owned. After a slight breakfast, we continued our march for four leagues more, over another set of hills, very similar to those we had traversed in the morning in soil and productions, but more lofty and rugged, and of course with a worse road. At two, P. M. we descended the hill that overlooks the valley, through which winds the *Rio Grande*. This descent was more difficult than any we had encountered, and we were once more obliged to leave the saddle and foot it.

The valley of Rio Grande is very beautiful, and afforded a most grateful sight after the arid and fruitless road we had passed. Cultivation appeared here to have made an advance of some hundreds of years, when compared with the neighbouring country. The whole valley, which is not more than a mile wide, and enclosed between lofty mountains, looked like a large garden. It was divided into large beds, by small trenches, cut at right angles, which are well supplied with water from the river, and which completely irrigate the whole valley. Sugar cane, corn, peas, beans, and a variety of vegetables, were growing in great abundance. The river had still much water in it; and, no doubt, after the wet season, will be fully entitled to its name. Here, we found, in plenty, bananas, oranges, and the avocate or alligator pear.

We remained all night at Rio Grande, in order to have our mules well refreshed, and prepared to encounter the dread of muleteers, the mountain of *San Ammonica*. On the 1st of June,

being the tenth day of our Journey, we, at daylight, commenced the ascent, and found it not very difficult until we had nearly reached the top, where there is a pass of a peculiar character. As you approach it, you would conclude it impossible to mount the perpendicular precipice of about one hundred and fifty feet that presents its front to you. When you reach the foot of this precipice, a small road is perceived, which in eight short, steep, and desperate turns, conducts you to the top, shuddering at every turn, as you look down and behold under you the vast abyss. From the valley of Rio Grande to the summit of San Ammonica, occupied an hour and a quarter well employed. On reaching the top of this mountain a large plain is seen, through which the road continues, without interrruption, to the foot of Real del Monte—a distance of twenty-two English miles. This plain appears well calculated for cultivation, being nearly level, and bounded by hills that are not very lofty. The eye has a great and an agreeable range. Many successful attempts at the product of grain and sugar were to be here seen; and one immense estate on which the buildings were handsome and extensive.

At eleven o'clock we reached the town of *Pueblo Grande de Mittan*, built on the plain. There is a fine church here, and some tolerably good houses, built principally of unbroken brick, which with good plaistering inside, answers the purpose; want of fuel, which is very scarce in this country, renders it impossible to burn the bricks. This town is supplied with water by an aqueduct, that brings it some distance from the neighbouring heights. A Commandant resides here, upon whom we called respectfully, to shew our passports, and say we were not Spaniards. In the afternoon we left *Mittan Grande*, and proceeded to *Mittan Chiquito*, which is three leagues further, and which completed nine leagues in all this day.

The ride from one town to the other is very pretty, affording a fine prospect of a rich and partially cultivated plain, circumscribed by distant and softly swelling hills. "*Mittan Chiquito*" is a small town within a mile of the foot of "Real del Monte," and has but few inhabitants. We reached it at five o'clock in the evening, in time to escape a shower of rain, with which, for the first time we were threatened.

On the eleventh day, we left Mittan Chiquito at seven o'clock

in the morning, and in a short time were on the paved road of the Real del Monte. We passed the celebrated silver mines, the largest of which is now filled with water, and of course, cannot be worked. Some of the smaller mines are still worked, though not with the same vigour as formerly. We had hoped to visit them, but as it was Sunday we were disappointed. An hour and a half brought us to the town of Real del Monte—or rather to the remains of the town. The principal part of it has been destroyed, in the various conflicts for the possession of the mines. There still remains a rich and handsome church, in which gold and silver, and images, were placed in profusion. A striking contrast was exhibited between the glitter and wealth of the church, and the squalid naked poverty of the congregation, who in a body seemed unable to purchase one of the silver candlesticks, that adorned the altar. In the tower of this church are eight fine-toned rolling bells, the effect of which was very good among the mountains, by which the town is approached. In an hour from the time we left the town of Real del Monte, we had descended into the "Table land of Mexico," with the town of Pachuca, (from which the mines before mentioned take their name,) on our right, distant about six miles. Our road now continued over this level plain, which is about three leagues wide, with but little appearance of cultivation, and very few inhabitants, for nearly eight leagues, to "San Matteo Grande," a village that consists of one fine church, and a few half demolished mud cabins. Such is the case over this whole plain, or table land of Mexico, an extent, as we travelled it, of twenty leagues in length. Villages are thickly planted in every direction, each of which has a fine costly church, with several large bells, and the people live in cabins, made of mud, with roofs of the same; no floors, no windows, no fuel, and almost no clothing. Their occupation seems to consist, principally, in removing fleas and lice from each other, drinking pulque, smoking cigars, when they can, and sleeping. From a hill near San Matteo, we counted nearly fifty spires in view at once. The wretched dwarf shrubs that grew near them, concealed the habitations of the poor creatures that worship at the shrines, and gave the churches the appearance of so many watch towers, or telegraphic building, scattered over the plain. Our ride this day advanced us on our way ten leagues.

On the twelfth day we left San Matteo Grande, and shortly passed San Matteo Chico. A little after sunrise we had the satisfaction of beholding the summit of Popocatepetl. It was distant from us about one hundred and fifty miles. At first I was convinced it was a silvery cloud, but its continued brilliancy, arising from the sun shining on the snows that perpetually cover its top, soon corrected my error. This mountain has never been surmounted by the foot of man. Its height is stated to be upwards of seventeen thousand seven hundred feet. In three leagues we reached St. Anna, and in one more, we arrived at Tecama, where we obtained an excellent breakfast. We visited the church, which as usual is large, handsome, and richly decorated. At ten o'clock, we resumed our journey, and passing through the villages of St. Francisco, Zumbia, Chiconautla, Santa Maria, San Christoval, Popatlaco, and some few others similar to those I have before mentioned, with the lake of Tescuco on our left, we arrived at Guadaloupe, one league from Mexico, at five o'clock in the afternoon. We had travelled this day eleven leagues, according to the account of our guide, but they appeared short, and we dismounted without fatigue. At San Christoval, about fourteen miles from Mexico, we crossed part of the great causeway or paved road which separates the lakes Christoval and Tescuco, and affords a safe and dry passage during the season, when those lakes are filled with water. When we crossed they were nearly dry; indeed we rode a mile or two on the bottom of lake Tescuco. We concluded to remain at Guadaloupe all night, in order to refresh ourselves previous to entering the capital, but we committed a great mistake. Our guide conducted us to the best inn, where we were accommodated with a room in the stable-yard, without a bed or any kind of furniture—with some difficulty we procured a few eggs and some bread. We passed a miserable night on our cloaks; the room offering no means of arranging the hammocks.

Early in the morning of the fourth of June, we strolled through Guadaloupe, and entered three churches, two of which are very handsome, and the other only remarkable as standing on a high hill, from which is a good prospect of the neighbouring country, including Mexico and the lake Tescuco. The principal church of La Senora del Guadaloupe, is a large and beautiful structure of modern taste. The altar is rich in gold and silver ornaments,

and the aisle, that leads from the altar to the choir, has a massy balustrade of solid silver on either side, and is lighted by twenty-four candles, supported by as many figures of men about eighteen inches high, made also of silver. The organ is of great size, and is divided into two sets of pipes, between which the singers and performers on other instruments stand. La Capilla del Pozo, or the Chapel of the Well, is a very rich church also, but not near so large as the other I have just mentioned. It has a dome about fifty feet wide, and eighty feet high, handsomely decorated with good paintings, carved work, and much gold; at its entrance is a large well of water of a reddish colour, which is supposed to be of great service to paralytic persons; there is a great deal of fixed air in this water, but this is given to it by artificial means. The taste is pungent and pleasant, though the water is rather warm. In the centre of this town stands a fountain, which is supplied by aqueducts with water from the mountains. At nine o'clock, having seen all worthy of observation at Gaudaloupe, we entered a monstrous machine, called here a coach, and rode on a fine paved way, with a double row of large trees, and a wide ditch on each side, in little less than an hour, to the late royal, *but now* imperial, city of Mexico.

Stages from Tampico to Mexico, with distances, as calculated by a guide. —June, 1822.

From Pueblo viejo de Tampico

To El Arrojio del Monte,	3½	leagues.
Esterilla, ...	12½	do.
Los Huevas, . . .	13	do.
Tantayouca, . .	4	do.
Las Flores, . . .	3	do.
La Pesca, . . .	11	do.
Papatipan, . . .	6	do.
Summit of Penulco,	10	do.
Zagualtipan, . .	3	do.
Rio Oquilcalco, .	3	do.
Rio Grande, . .	4	do.
Mittam Grande, . .	3	do.
Mittam Chiquito, .	6	do.
St. Matteo, . . .	10	do.
Guadaloupe, . .	11	do.
Mexico, ...	1	do.

312 miles—104 leagues.

Travelled on a mule, in twelve days, eighty-six hours actually on the road.

Stages from Mexico to Vera Cruz with distances, as estimated by a guide. —August, 1822.

From Mexico

To Cardova, . . .	10	leagues.
Rio Frio, ...	5	do.
St. Martins, . . .	8	do.
Pueblo, ...	8	do.
Napoluca, ...	11	do.
Ojo del Agua, . .	2	do.
Tepeyaulco, . . .	6	do.
Perote, ...	7	do.
Las Vegas, . . .	4	do.
Jalapa, ...	7	do.
Plan del Rio, . .	8	do.
Pluente del Rey, .	6	do.
Santa Fé, ...	8	do.
Vera Cruz, . . .	3	do.

279 miles—93 leagues.

Travelled in a carriage, in twelve days, sixty-three hours and a quatrer actually on the road.

No. 2.

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS.

PRIOR to the late Revolution, the geographical divisions of the Kingdom of New Spain were as follows:

INTENDANCY OF MEXICO.

Population in 1803 . . .	1,511,800
Extent of surface in square leagues . .	5927
Number of inhabitants to the square league .	255

Principal Towns.

Mexico	Acapulco (Acapolco)
Tezcuco	Zacatula
Cuyoacan	Lerma
Tacuybaya	Toluca (Tolocan)
Tacuba (the ancient Talcopan)	Pachuca
	Cadereita
Cuernavacca	San Juan del Rio
Chilpansingo	Queretaro.
Tasco (Tlachco)	

INTENDANCY OF PUEBLA.

Population in 1803 . . .	813,300
Extent of surface in square leagues . .	2,696
Number of Inhabitants to the square league .	301

Principal Towns.

La Puebla de los Angeles	Tehuacan de las Granadas
Tlascala	Tepeaca or Tepeyacac
Cholula	Huajocingo or Huetxocingo.
Atlixco	

INTENDANCY OF GUANAXUATO.

Population in 1803 . . .	517,300
Extent of surface in square leagues .	911
Number of inhabitants to the square league .	586

Principal Towns.

Guanaxuato, or Santa Fé de Guanajuato
Salamanca
Celaya
Villa de Leon
San Miguel el Grande.

INTENDANCY OF VALLADOLID.

Population in 1803 . . .	376,400
Extent of surface in square leagues . .	3,446
Number of inhabitants to the square league. .	109

Principal Towns.

Valladolid de Michoacan
Pascuaro
Tzintzontzan or Huitzitzilla.

INTENDANCY OF GUADALAXARA.

Population in 1803 . . .	630,500
Extent of surface in square leagues . .	9,612
Number of inhabitants to the square league .	66

Principal Towns.

Guadalaxara
San Blas
Compostela
Aquas Calientes
Villa de la Purificacion
Lagos
Colima.

INTENDANCY OF ZACATECAS.

Population in 1803 . . .	153,300
Extent of surface in square leagues . .	2,255
Number of inhabitants to the square league .	65

Principal Towns.

Zacatecas Fresnillo Sombrerete.

INTENDANCY OF OAXACA.

Population in 1803 . . .	534,800
Extent of surface in square leagues . .	4,447
Number of inhabitants to the square league .	120

Principal Towns.

Oaxaca or Guaxaca (the ancient Huaxyacac,)
Tehuantepec, or Teguantepeque
San Antonio de los Cues

Intendancy of Merida.

Population in 1803	465,800
Extent of surface in square leagues	5,977
Number of inhabitants to the square league	81

Principal Towns.

Merida de Yucatan Campeche Valladolid.

Intendancy of Vera Cruz.

Population in 1803	156,000
Extent of surface in square leagues	4,141
Number of inhabitants to the square league	38

Principal Towns.

Vera Cruz	Cordoba
Xalapa	Orizaba
Perote (the ancient Pinahuizapan)	Tlacotlalpan.

Intendancy of San Luis Potosi.

Population in 1803	334,900
Extent of surface in square leagues	27,821
Number of inhabitants to the square league	12

Principal Towns.

San Luis Potosi	Monterey
Nuevo Santander	Linares
Charcas, or Santa Maria de las Charcas	Monclova
Catorce	San Antonio de Bejar.

Intendancy of Durango.

Population in 1803	159,700
Extent of surface in square leagues	16,873
Number of inhabitants to the square league	10

Principal Towns.

Durango, or Guadiana	Mapimis
Chihuagua	Parras
San Juan del Rio	San Pedro de Batopilas
Nombre de Dios	San Jose del Parral
Papasquiaro	Santa Rosa de Cosiguiriachi
Saltillo	Guarisamey.

INTENDANCY OF LA SONORA.

Population in 1803 . . .	121,400
Extent of surface in square leagues . .	19,143
Number of inhabitants to the square league .	6

Principal Towns.

Arispe	Cinaloa
Sonora	El Rosario
Hostimuri	Villa del Fuerte
Culiacan	Los Alamos.

THE PROVINCE OF NEW MEXICO.

Population in 1803 . . .	40,200
Extent of surface in square leagues . .	5,709
Number of inhabitants to the square league .	7

Principal Towns.

Sante Fé	Taos
Albuquerque	Passo del Norte.

PROVINCE OF OLD CALIFORNIA.

Population in 1803 . . .	9,000
Extent of surface in square leagues . .	7,295
Number of inhabitants to the square league .	1

Principal Towns.

Loreto Santa Ana San Joseph.

PROVINCE OF NEW CALIFORNIA.

Population in 1803 . . .	15,600
Extent of surface in square leagues . .	2,125
Number of inhabitants to the square league .	7

Principal Towns.

San Diego	San Miguel
San Luis Rey de Francia	Soledad
San Juan Capistrano	San Antonio de Padua
San Gabriel	San Carlos de Monterey
San Fernando	San Juan Baptista
San Bunaventura	Santa Cruz
Santa Barbara	Santa Clara
La Purissima Concepcion	San Jose
San Luis Obispo	San Francisco.

By an act of the Sovereign Junta, passed in January, 1822, the Empire was divided into six Captaincies General (*capitanias general*). The first consists of the Provinces of Mexico, Queretaro, Guanaxuato, and Valladolid; the second of the Provinces of Puebla, Vera Cruz, Oxaca, and Tabasco; the third of Nueva Galicia, Zacatecas, and San Luis Potosi. The departments of Tlapa, Chilapa, Tixtla, Axuchitlan, Ometepec, Techan, Tamitlepec, and Teposcolula, form the fourth, called the Captaincy General of the South. The fifth consists of the eastern and western internal provinces; and the sixth of Merida de Yucatan, which constituted a Captaincy General under the former government. It was proposed to form another of the Provinces of Guatemala.

Under the former government, this kingdom was a Captaincy General independent of Mexico:—some of the provinces at the commencement of the revolution united with the Mexicans, and sent deputies to the Congress, while others established an independent republican government. At present, Chiapa alone is united to Mexico.

Guatemala extends from about 81° 45′ of west longitude to 94°, and from 8° to 17° north latitude. It is bounded on the west by the Intendancy of Oaxaca in Mexico; on the north-west by Yucatan; on the south-east by the Province Veraguas, in Santa Fé de Bogotà; on the south and south-west by the Pacific, and on the north by the Atlantic Ocean. The distance by land from Chilillo, the frontier of Oaxaca, to Chirique in Veraguas, is 700 leagues, and the distance from sea to sea in no place exceeds 180 leagues, nor falls short of 60. Of the fifteen provinces into which it is divided, five are situated on the Pacific, five on the Atlantic, and five in the interior.

PROVINCES OF GUATEMALA.

	Population in 1778.	Population in 1796.	Increase of 10 per cent. for 10 years, to 1823.
PROVINCE OF CHIAPA, *the most western on the Pacific.*			
Population, ...	69,253	99,001	128,025
DISTRICT OF CIUDAD REAL.			
Principal Towns.			
Ciudad Real,			
San Fernando,			
Guadaloupe,			
Smacantan,			
Chamula,			
Los Llanos,			
Comitan,			
Ocosingo,			
Palenque.			
DISTRICT OF TUXTLA.			
Principal Towns.			
Tuxtla,			
Chiapa de Indios,			
Techatlan.			
DISTRICT OF SOCONUSCO.			
Principal Towns.			
Escuintla,			
Tapachula.			
PROVINCE OF SUCHILTEPEQUES.			
Population, ...	17,535		26,953
Principal Towns.			
Suchiltepeques,			
Mazatenango,			
Lorenzo el Real,			
Coyutenango,			
Zamayague,			
Retaluleuch,			
Sacatepeques.			
PROVINCE OF ESCUINTLA.			
Population, ...	24,978		38,396
Carried forward, ...	111,766		193,374

	Population in 1778.		Increase of 10 per cent for 10 years, to 1823.
Brought forward	111,766		193,374
DISTRICT OF ESCUINTLA.			
Principal Towns.			
Escuintla,			
Masagua,			
DISTRICT OF GUAZACAPAN.			
Principal Towns.			
Guazacapan,			
Chiquimulilla.			
PROVINCE ON ZONZONATE.			
Population, ...	29,248		44,959
Principal Towns.			
Zonzonate,			
Acajutla,			
Aguachapa,			
Izalco.			
PROVINCE OF SAN SALVADOR, *the most eastern province on the Pacific.*			
Population, ...	137,270		211,024
DISTRICT OF SANTA ANA.			
Principal Towns.			
Santa Ana.			
Chulchuapa,			
Metapas.			
DISTRICT OF SAN SALVADOR.			
Principal Towns.			
San Salvador,			
Nejapa,			
Zejutla,			
San Jacinto,			
Sochitolo,			
Cojutepeque,			
Texacuangos,			
Olauitla,			
Toracatepeque,			
Chalalenango,			
Masagua,			
Carried forward, ...	278,284		449,357

	Population in 1778.	Population in 1791.	Increase of 10 per cent. for 10 years, to 1823.
Brought forward, ...	278,284		449,357
DISTRICT OF SAN VICENTE.			
Principal Towns.			
Lorenzana, or San Vicente,			
Sacatecoluca,			
Apastepeque,			
Istepeque,			
Tepetilan.			
DISTRICT OF SAN MIGUEL.			
Principal Towns.			
San Miguel,			
Chinameca.			
PROVINCE OF VERA PAZ, *the most western province on the Atlantic.*			
Population, ...	52,138		79,802
Principal Towns.			
San Domingo, Coban the capital,			
Rabinal,			
Salama,			
Cahaban.			
DISTRICT OF PETEN includes the Lake of Itza or Peten, about 26 leagues in circumference, situated between Vera Paz, Chiapa and Yucatan. On a large Island two leagues from the shore called Peten, stands the Fortress of Los Remedios.			
PROVINCE OF CHIQUIMULA.			
Population, ...	52,423		80,240
DISTRICT OF ACASAGUASTLAN.			
Principal Towns.			
Acasaguastlan and Zacapa.			
DISTRICT OF CHIQUIMULA.			
Principal Towns.			
Chiquimula de la Sierra and Santiago Esquipulas.			
PROVINCE OF HONDURAS.			
Population, ...		93,501	126,938
Carried forward, ...	382,845		736,337

	Population in 1778.		Increase of 10 per cent. for 10 years, to 1823.
Brought forward, ...	382,845		736,337
DISTRICT OF COMAZAGUA.			
Principal Towns.			
Truxillo,			
Gracias a Dios,			
New Valladolid, or Comayagua, the capital of Honduras,			
Buena Vista,			
Triumfo de la Cruz,			
Naco,			
Tula,			
Olanchito,			
Sonaguera,			
Yoro,			
Tencoa,			
Olancho,			
Morolicha,			
Copan.			
DISTRICT OF TEGUCIGALPA.			
Principal Towns.			
Tegucigalpa,			
Xeres la Frontera, in the Valley of Cholucteca and El Corpus.			
PROVINCE OF NICARAGUA.			
Population, ...	106,926		164,374
DISTRICT OF LEON; besides the capital of the same name, contains the cities of Granada and New Segovia; and the towns of Nicaragua, Esteli, Alcoyapa, Villa Nueva and Masaya—Granada is situated near the Lake of Nicaragua.			
DISTRICT OF MATAGALPA.			
DISTRICT OF REALEJO.			
Principal Towns.			
Realejo and el Viejo.			
DISTRICT OF SUBTIAVA—*Capital Town of the same name.*			
DISTRICT OF NICOYA.			
Nicoya, the capital.			
Carried forward, ...	489,771		900,711

	Population in 1778.		Increase of 10 per cent. for 10 years, to 1823.
Brought forward, ...	489,771		900,711
PROVINCE OF COSTA RICA, *the most eastern province on the Atlantic.*			
Population, ...	24,536		37,716
City of Cartago, the capital.			
Principal Towns.			
San Josè,			
Villa Vieja,			
Villa Hermosa,			
Esparza,			
Barguses,			
Ujanas.			
Between Nicaragua and Comayagua are the provinces of Zagrezgalpa and Zologalpa, peopled by Indians, who have not been converted to the Christian Religion.—They are called indiscriminately Xicaques, Moscos, and Sambos.			
PROVINCE OF TOTONICAPAN, *the most western of the interior provinces.*			
Population, ...	58,200		89,083
DISTRICT OF GUEGUITENANGO.			
Principal Towns.			
Conception,			
Gueguitenango,			
Chiantla,			
Sacapulas,			
Yectatan and Motocinta.			
DISTRICT OF TOLONICAPAN.			
Principal Towns.			
Tolonicapan,			
Sahcaju and Sija.			
PROVINCE OF QUEZALTENANGO.			
Population, ...	28,563		43,857
Carried forward, ...	601,070		1,071,367

	Population in 1778.		Increase of 10 per cent. for 10 years, to 1823.
Brought forward, ...	601,070		1,071,367
Principal Towns.			
Quezaltenango,			
Sactatepeque,			
Tazumulco.			
PROVINCE OF SOLOLA.			
Population, ...	27,953		42,965
DISTRICT OF SOLOLA.			
Principal Towns.			
Solola, called by the Indians Tecpanatitlan,			
Quiche, called at the time of the conquest Utatlan, the residence of the Sovereigns of Quiche.			
DISTRICT OF ATITLAN.			
Capital town of the same name.			
PROVINCE OF CHIMALTENANGO.			
Population, ...	40,082		61,616
Principal Towns.			
Chimaltenango,			
Tecpanguatemala,			
Patzuno,			
Comalapam,			
Patzizia,			
Itzappa,			
Xilotepque.			
PROVINCE OF SACATEPEQUES, *the most eastern of the interior provinces.*			
Population, ...	75,220		115,634
The city of Guatemala, which contained in 1795, 24,434 inhabitants, the capital of the kingdom, is situated in this province.			
The principal Towns are:			
La Antigua Guatemala,			
Sacatepeques,			
Petapa,			
Carried forward, ...	744,325		1,291,582

	Population in 1778.		Increase of 10 per cent. for 10 years, to 1823.
Brought forward, ...	744,325		1,291,582
Amatitian,			
Texar,			
Mixco,			
Pinula,			
Asuncion,			
Guadaloupe,			
The population of Honduras in 1778 omitted, ...	87,730		
Total,*	832,055		1,291,582

* The account of the population as here published, is taken from an official statement made 1778.

The settlement of the English in the Bay of Honduras, is called the Balize.

No. 3.

HISTORICAL SKETCH.

From Clavigero, Storia del Messico—from Solis, Borturini, Herrera, Bernal Dias, and other authors, we learn the state of the arts in Mexico, prior to the invasion of the Spaniards; the progress made by that people in science; the form of their government, and of their hierarchy; and from the simple and unaffected narrative of Cortez, contained in his letters to Charles the Fifth, we may gather a pretty accurate knowledge of their resources, and of the number and character of the population.

Some idea may be formed of the civilization of a people, by the nature of their government, their civil institutions, and the laws by which they are governed. In Mexico, the monarch was elected from among the members of the reigning family, by six electors, chosen from among the thirty princes of the first rank. The political system was feudal. The first class of nobles, consisting of thirty families, had each one hundred thousand vassals. There were more than three thousand families in the second class. The vassals were serfs attached to the soil, over whom the lord exercised the right of life and death. All the lands were divided into allodial, hereditary, and contingent estates—the latter depending upon places in the gift of the crown.

The priests were charged with the education of the youth; and on their testimony of the merit of their scholars, depended their future rank. Each province was subject to a tribute, except certain nobles, who were compelled to take the field, in case of a war, with a stated number of followers. The tribute was paid in kind, and was fixed at one-thirtieth part of the crop. Besides which, the governors of provinces vied with each other in the magnificence of the presents which they sent to the emperor.

In the quarto edition of Lorenzana, there are plates of the figures, by means of which the receivers and administrators kept an account of the tribute due by each province.

There was an *Octroi* upon provisions, levied in every city. Posts were established between the capital and the remotest provinces of the empire.

Sacrilege, treason, and murder were punished with death; and Cortez protests, that the Mexicans respected the laws of the empire fully as much as the Spaniards did those of Spain.

The emperor was served with great magnificence and Asiastic pomp.

The attention of the government was principally directed towards the internal commerce, so as to secure an abundant supply to the people.

A court of ten magistrates, determined the validity of contracts; and officers were constantly employed to examine the measures and the quality of the goods exposed for sale.

Under Montezuma, the government was despotic, and in his turn, he was governed by the high priest. It will be recollected, that at the last siege of the capital, when the emperor and his council had resolved to accept any terms rather than prolong a hopeless contest, the high priest opposed them and broke off the treaty.

Besides the empire of the Mexicans, there were other powerful states—whose form of government was republican; and Cortez compared them to the republics of Pisa, Venice, and Genoa.

I must refer the reader to Clavigero and Lorenzana, for the history of Tlascala, the most powerful of those states, the government of which existed some time after the conquest of Mexico.

Tlascala was a thickly settled, fertile, and populous country, divided into several districts, under the authority of a chief. These chiefs administered justice, levied the tribute, and commanded the military forces; but their decrees were not valid or of force until confirmed by the senate of Tlascala, which was the true sovereign.

A certain number of citizens, chosen from the different districts by popular assemblies, formed this legislative body. The senate elected its own chief. The laws were strictly and impartially executed; and Cortez represents this people as numerous, wealthy and warlike,

The Mexicans possessed some knowledge of astronomy, and

their calendar was constructed with more exactness than that of the Greeks, the Romans, or the Egyptians. Their hieroglyphic drawings and maps—their cities and artificial roads, causeways, canals, and immense pyramids—their government and hierarchy, and administration of laws—their knowledge of the art of mining, and of preparing metals for ornament and use—their skill in carving images out of the hardest stone—in manufacturing and dyeing cloths, and the perfection of their agriculture, inspire us with a high opinion of the civilization of the Mexicans, at the time of the conquest; especially, when we take into consideration, the period when they are described to have reached this state of excellence in the arts and sciences. We ought always to bear in mind, the state of Europe at the same period, before the reformation, and before the discovery of the art of printing. Cortez compares Mexico with Spain, and frequently to the advantage of the former. The only circumstance wanting to have rendered their state of society more perfect than that of Spain, appears to have been a more pure religion, and the use of animals for domestic purposes.

The peasants were compelled to carry heavy loads, like beasts of burden; and in their religious worship the most shocking superstition prevailed. Their altars were frequently stained with the blood of human sacrifices.

We cannot judge of the character of the population, prior to the conquest, by the Indians we now see. The priests, who possessed all the learning, were destroyed; the princes and nobles were deprived of their property, and in fact reduced to a level with the lowest class; and the serfs, who are, and always have been, an oppressed and degraded people, are alone to represent the former Mexicans.

Humboldt says, "that it is difficult to appreciate justly the moral character of the native Mexicans, if we consider this caste, which has so long suffered under a barbarous tyranny, only in its present state of degradation. At the commencement of the Spanish conquest, the wealthy Indians, for the most part, perished, victims of the ferocity of the Europeans. Christian fanaticism persecuted the Aztec priests; they exterminated the Teopixqui, or ministers of the divinity, all who inhabited the Teocalli or temples, and who could be regarded as depositories of historical, mythological, and astronomical knowledge.

The monks burnt the hieroglyphic paintings, by which knowledge of every sort was transmitted from generation to generation. Deprived of these means of instruction, the people relapsed into a state of ignorance, so much the more profound, that the missionaries, little skilled in the Mexican languages, substituted few new ideas for the ancient. The Indian women, who preserved some fortune, preferred allying themselves with the conquerors, to partaking the contempt entertained for the Indians. There remained, therefore, of the natives, none but the most indigent, the poor cultivators, mechanics, porters who were used as beasts of burden—and above all, the dregs of the people, that crowd of beggars, which marked the imperfection of the social institutions and the feudal yoke, and who, even in the time of Cortez, filled the streets of the great cities of Mexico. How, then, shall we judge from these miserable remains of a powerful people, either of the degree of civilization, to which it had reached, from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, or of the intellectual development of which it is susceptible."

Shortly after Cortez landed his small army at Vera Cruz, he received messengers from Montezuma, bringing with them presents to a considerable amount, and entreating the Spanish commander not to march further into the country. The sight of this display of wealth stimulated the cupidity of the Spaniards, and confirmed Cortez in his determination to penetrate to the capital. In his route he had to contend against the republic of Tlascala, a nation continually involved in war with the empire of Mexico. Cortez vanquished the republicans in two battles, and after compelling them to make peace, he found no difficulty in enlisting them against Montezuma. Six thousand Tlascalans were added to his European troops as auxiliaries, and he continued his march upon the capital of the empire in the guise of friendship. As he advanced, he continued to augment his forces by treaties with other nations or tribes, which were inimical to Montemuza; and with a European force of five hundred infantry and fifteen horsemen, and a large army of Indians, he reached the city of Tenochtitlan on the 8th of November 1519. The emperor received him with a degree of magnificence that excited the astonishment of the Spaniards. The whole army was lodged and entertained sumptuously, and Cortez himself received presents to a great amount. Some of

these he enumerates to Charles the Fifth, in order to give him an idea of the riches and ingenuity of this extraordinary people.

It is not surprising, that, at the sight of so much wealth, Cortez should form the wish to become possessed of it. He soon acquired an ascendancy over the timid Mexicans, and Montezuma found that in admitting an armed and powerful friend into the heart of his capital, he had delivered himself and his people into the hands of a ferocious enemy.

The Mexican general, Qualpopoca, who had committed some hostilities upon the colony left by the Spaniards at Vera Cruz, was, on the demand of Cortez, delivered up to him bound hand and foot, and by his order was burnt alive. Soon after this barbarous act, he contrived to get possession of the person of Montezuma, and detained him prisoner. But what, perhaps, irritated the people, more even than this violation of the person of the emperor, was the contempt with which their religious rites and idols were treated by the Spaniards.

The arrival of Narvaez on the coast, with a large force, despatched by Velasco to deprive Cortez of the command, compelled the latter to lead Alvarado in command of the force at Tenochtitlan, and to march against this unexpected enemy. His departure from the capital was the signal for the people to manifest the hostile feeling they had long indulged towards the Spaniards. They took up arms against them, burnt the vessels which Cortez had constructed to command the Lake, and laid siege to the building in which the Spaniards were lodged.

At this period Cortez returned, after having surprised and vanquished Narvaez. By this action he acquired a great accession of force—and he is said to have had, after his arrival at the capital, one thousand infantry and one hundred horse. The siege was prosecuted with vigour and determination on the part of the natives, and the place defended with equal obstinacy and valour on the part of the Spaniards. Montezuma, who had ascended the terrace to address his subjects and to quell the insurrection, was killed by a stone or arrow, and his brother Quetlavaca proclaimed his successor. This gave renewed vigour to the Mexicans, and Cortez was compelled to retreat. His own account of his flight, in one of his letters, is well worth reading.

The night of this disastrous retreat was called *La noche triste*, the melancholy night.

Cortez continued to retreat upon Tlascala—the Mexicans pursuing and harassing his rear. At Otumba, he was obliged to turn and give them battle. He describes his own troops as worn out with fatigue, but says that the enemy were so numerous that they could neither fight nor fly; and that the slaughter continued the whole day, until one of their principal chiefs was killed, which put an end to the battle and to the war. He reached Tlascala without further trouble, with the remnant of his forces, and was well received by his old allies.

He was urged by his officers, and by the garrison of Vera Cruz, to retire to the coast, but refused to abandon the conquest of Mexico; and, in order to maintain the ascendancy he had acquired over the people of Tlascala, he made incursions into the territories of the neighbouring nations; from whence he always returned victorious, and loaded with spoil.

In December, 1521, he again marched upon Tenochtitlan, and took up his quarters in Tezcuco. From this place he carried on the war against the Mexicans and their allies, until the arrival of the frames of thirteen small vessels, which he had ordered to he constructed in Tlascala. They were brought by such a multitude of Indians, Cortez says, that "from the time they first began to enter the city until the last finished, more than six hours elapsed." In order to launch these brigantines, as he calls them, a canal of half a mile in length was cut from the lake, of such ample dimensions, that eight thousand Indians worked every day at it, for fifty days before it was completed.

On reviewing his troops, after the vessels were on the lake, he found that he had eighty-six horsemen, one hundred and eighteen fusileers, and upwards of seven hundred infantry, armed with swords and bucklers, three large iron field pieces and fifteen small ones of bronze, with ten quintals of powder; he does not give the number of Indians then with him, but on the following day he despatched messengers to Tlascala and other provinces to inform these people that he was ready to proceed against Tenochtitlan. In consequence of this advice, the Captains of Tlascala arrived, with their forces, well appointed, and well armed; and, according to their report, they amounted to upwards of fifty thousand.

He divided his forces into three corps—one, consisting of thirty horsemen, eighteen fusileers, and one hundred and fifty infantry, armed with sword and buckler, and twenty-five thousand Tlascalans, was commanded by Pedro de Alvarado, and was to occupy Tacuba. Another, commanded by Christoval Olid, consisted of thirty-three horsemen, eighteen fusileers, and one hundred and seventy infantry, armed with sword and buckler, together with upwards of twenty thousand Indians, was to take possession of Cuyoacan. The third division, was entrusted to Gonzalo de Sandoval; it amounted to twenty-four horsemen, fifteen fusileers, and one hundred and fifty infantry, armed with sword and buckler, with thirty thousand Indians. This division was to march upon Iztapalapan, destroy that town, and then, under cover of the vessels, form a junction with that of Olid. Cortez himself commanded the fleet. As soon as they reached their several destinations, Alvarado and Olid destroyed the aqueducts, and cut off the supply of water from the city.

After a siege of seventy-five days, during which both parties displayed the most obstinate courage, the besieged, reduced to the last extremity by disease and famine, made an attempt to evacuate the city by water. They were pursued by the light squadron of the Spaniards; and the canoe which carried the person of the emperor was captured by Garcia Holguin. This capture put an end to the war. When Gautimotzin, who had succeeded to the throne on the death of his uncle, was brought before Cortez, on the terrace where he was standing, and which overlooked the lake—he advanced, says Cortez, towards me, and said, that he had done every thing which his duty required to defend himself and his subjects, until he was reduced to this state, and that I might now do with him what I thought proper; and put his hand on a dagger that I wore, telling me to stab him.

The siege was commenced on the 30th of May, 1521, and terminated on the 13th of August; and Cortez says, that during these seventy-five days, not one passsed without some combat between the besieged and the Spaniards.

The captured Mexicans were divided among the conquerors; and Cortez informs the emperor, that he had preserved his share of the gold and silver, and his fifth of the *slaves*, and

other things, which by right belonged to his majesty—and as slaves they continued to be treated for centuries, notwithstanding the humane laws passed in Spain for their relief.

It would be tedious and unprofitable, to trace the colonial history of Mexico, from the conquest to the revolution. From great natural advantages, this country has become rich and powerful, in despite of a most impolitic colonial system. In justice to the government of Spain, it must be acknowledged, that the laws of the Indies were wise and just, and the regulations relating to the poor Indians framed in the very spirit of humanity—but their administration was bad—and the Creoles were oppressed by their European masters; who, in their turn, harassed and oppressed the unfortunate natives. Almost the only bright spot in the page of this history, is the period of the administration of the viceroy Revillagigedo. Good roads, leading from the capital to different parts of the kingdom, were laid out, and constructed by his orders; and the streets of the principal cities were paved and lighted, and a good police established. The only authentic statistical account of this country was made out at this period; and almost every salutary law or regulation now in existence, may be traced to the administration of Revillagigedo.

The immediate causes of the revolution of the Spanish colonies, are too generally known to require any future explanation. The invasion of Spain by Napoleon only accelerated a revolution, towards which the Americans were slowly but irresistibly impelled, by the conduct of the mother country, and by the political events of the age.

After the occurrences at Bayonne, and the occupation of Madrid by the French, the Viceroy of Mexico, Don Jose Iturrigary, received such contradictory orders from the king, from Murat, and from the council of the Indies, that he proposed calling a Junta, to be formed by a representation from each province, as the best means of preserving the country from the horrors of anarchy. The Europeans in the capital, who viewed this scheme with great jealousy, as it was calculated to place the Creoles upon an equal footing with themselves in the government of the country, conspired against the Viceroy, and having surprised him in his palace, sent him and his family prisoners to Spain, and assumed the reins of government.

This act excited universal indignation among all classes of Americans. Iturrigary was a just and a good man, and he is still spoken of with respect by the Creoles. The conduct of the Spaniards on this occasion was highly approved by the government in Spain; and his successor, Vanegas, brought with him rewards and distinctions for those who had been most conspicuous in this revolt against the authority of Iturrigary.

Shortly after the arrival of the new viceroy, a conspiracy was formed among the Creoles to overthrow his power; it is said to have been very extensive, and that a great many of the most distinguished citizens throughout the empire were engaged in it.

This conspiracy was disclosed by Iturriaga, a canon of Valladolid, who on his death-bed revealed the whole plan, and the names of the conspirators, to a priest of Queretaro. In consequence of this disclosure, the corregidor of that city, who was included in the denunciation, was arrested in the night. This act spread the alarm among the principal conspirators and hastened the execution of their plot; and Allende, one of the chiefs, at the head of a small band, immediately united himself with Hidalgo in Dolores.

Hidalgo was a priest of some talent, an enthusiast in the cause of independence, and possessing unbounded influence over the Indians. From Dolores, where they assembled a large body of men, they marched upon San Miguel el Grande, and pillaged the houses of the Spaniards. Hidalgo next led his desultory forces to Zelaya, where he was joined by the troops of that garrison. Thus reinforced, he marched forward against the populous and wealthy city of Guanaxuato. Here too the garrison joined the insurgents, and the only opposition which was made was by the Intendant, who shut himself up with some of the inhabitants, and a large amount of treasure, in the Alhondiga, a large circular building in the centre of the city, which is used for a granary. Riana, the Intendant, was killed during the first attack, and the inhabitants soon after surrendered. By this capture Hidalgo acquired five millions of dollars, besides the plunder which fell into the hands of his followers.

The viceroy, Vanegas, took active measures to suppress the insurrection, but the whole country north of Queretaro took up

arms and united with Hidalgo. Acting with great policy, he abolished the tribute, which gained him friends among the Indians, and they flocked in crowds to his standard. After endeavouring to introduce some order among an army composed of all classes, and armed with pikes, clubs, hatchets, and a few muskets, he left Guanaxuato and marched to Valladolid, where he was received with shouts of joy by the Indians and Creoles. On the 24th October, Hidalgo was proclaimed Generalissimo of the Mexican armies, and Allende and several others appointed generals under him. On this occasion he threw aside his priest's robes and appeared in uniform. From Indaparapeo, where this ceremony took place, the patriot army marched towards the capital, and on the 27th of October, 1809, entered Toluca, a town not more than twelve leagues west of the capital. The royal forces were scattered throughout the kingdom, and Mexico was considered in imminent danger. In this extremity the European authorities resorted to the spiritual weapons of the church. Hidalgo, his army, and all who espoused the cause of independence, where solemnly excommunicated by the archbishop. This act did not produce all the effect that was expected from it, upon the immediate followers of Hidalgo. Being a priest himself, he easily persuaded his troops that an excommunication pronounced by their enemies, could not avail against them; but the people who were at a distance abandoned a cause to which was attached so dreadful a penalty. After some skirmishing between Toluca and Lerma, the Independents on the 31st of October crowned the heights of Santa Fé. The Royalists, not more than two thousand men, were drawn up to defend the city; when to the astonishment of every one Hidalgo withdrew his troops, taking the route to Guanaxuato. This extraordinary movement, so fatal to the cause of the Patriots, has never been accounted for.

This movement was attended with some confusion; and Calleja, at the head of six thousand men, which had been col lected by calling in the garrisons of Queretaro and other towns, pursued him so closely, as to bring on an action at Aculeo. Hidalgo's troops were defeated with great slaughter, and he retreated with the remains of his forces to Guanaxuato. Here Callaja again overtook him, but Hidalgo, leaving Allende to guard the defile of Marfil, evacuated Guanaxuato with the

main body of his forces, and pursued his march to Guadalajara. Calleja attacked the Independents with his usual impetuosity and success, and after an obstinate resistance, Allende retired upon Hidalgo with the remains of his troops. From Calleja's despatches to the viceroy, it appears, that he committed the most savage acts of barbarity in Guanaxuato, and his example was followed by his subalterns in all the towns and villages of the Baxio.

In the mean time the Royalists, under General Cruz, defeated the Independents at Zamora, and recovered possession of Valladolid, where the inhabitants were treated with great barbarity.

Hidalgo continued his retreat until he reached Guadalajara, when he drew up his army in an advantageous position, at the Puente de Calderon, eleven leagues from the city of Guadalajara, and waited the attack of Calleja. Here, an obstinate battle was fought on the 17th of January, 1811, which ended in the total defeat and dispersion of the Independents. After remaining a short time at Zacatecas, Hidalgo retreated to San Luis Potosi, intending to retire to the Texas, and there reorganize his army. He was closely followed by Calleja, and by a division of Spanish troops which had arrived at Altamira. The Governor of the western internal provinces despatched a body of troops, under the command of Ochoa, to intercept Hidalgo's retreat, and thus hemmed in on all sides, he was betrayed by Bustamante, one of his own officers, and made prisoner with all his staff. They were suddenly attacked at Acatita de Banjan, on the 21st March, 1811, and being taken by surprise, were easily vanquished. Fifty of his officers were executed on the field of battle. Hidalgo and Allende, with eight or ten others, were removed to Chihuahua, where, after the form of trial, Hidalgo was shot on the 20th of June, 1811, having been deprived of his priest's orders previous to his execution. Allende and the other officers were executed on the 20th of June. The death of Hidalgo did not check the progress of the revolution in other parts of the kingdom.

Rayon, a lawyer of great influence, formed a junta at Zitaquara, and endeavoured to introduce some order and subordination among the Independents. Calleja, to whose activity and courage the suppression of this formidable revolt is attributed,

marched against the forces collected at Zitaquaro, and after an engagement, which lasted three hours, succeeded in driving the patriots from all their posts, and in taking the important place of Zitaquaro. By a solemn decree, the property of the inhabitants of this town was confiscated, and the town itself razed to the ground.

Notwithstanding these losses, the Independents continued to carry on a desultory warfare. The Junta took refuge in Zultepec, and Morelos, a priest, organized a large force, and was victorious in several actions, fought in the south against the Royalists. Calleja marched against him, and at length succeeded in driving him from Quautla-Amilpa, a town which had been strongly fortified by Morelos. Compelled to evacuate this place, by famine, the Independents were harassed in their retreat by Calleja, who says in his dispatches to the viceroy, that "an extent of seven leagues was covered with the dead bodies of the enemy." The principal sufferers were the unarmed inhabitants of the town, who, warned by the fate of Zitaquaro, were eager to escape from the persecutions and cruelties of the blood-thirsty Calleja.

Such was the spirit of the people, that Morelos was soon able again to act offensively. He successfully captured the towns of Chilapa, Tehuacan, Orizaba, and Oaxaca, and shortly after, Acapulco fell into his power. Guerillas of the Independents under Guadalupe Victoria, extended to the country between Xalapa and Vera Cruz, and occupied all the strong holds in that part of the country. Don Manual Teran had a respectable force in the province of Puebla. Ossourno, with another division, was spreading terror and confusion in the province of Mexico, while a Doctor Coss, a priest, with Rayon, Bustamante, Liceaga, and other brave officers, occupied a great part of the provinces of Guanaxuato, Valladolid, Zacatecas and New Galicia.

Morelos at this period convened a congress, composed of forty members, which assembled at Apatzinjan, in the province of Valladolid. A constitution was framed and accepted by the provinces in possession of the Independents, and they shortly after made proposals to suspend hostilities, and to enter into a treaty with the Royalists, which were rejected with scorn and insult.

Calleja was appointed viceroy, with the title of Conde de Calderon, and the war was prosecuted against the Independents with vigour, and with circumstances of the most barbarous and refined cruelty.

Morelos soon found, that by delegating the authority to a congress at this critical period, he had very much augmented the difficulties of his situation—no sooner did he or his officers form any military plan, than its merits became a matter of discussion in congress, and all confidence between the military and civil authorities was destroyed.

Morelos made an unsuccessful attack on Valladolid, and in the retreat, Matamoros, a priest, who had throughout this contest displayed great valour and considerable military talent, was defeated, and fell into the hands of the Royalists. Offers and menaces were resorted to by Morelos, to save the life of this officer, but in vain—he was degraded and shot.

Compelled to evacuate the province of Valladolid, Morelos resolved to transfer his head-quarters to the city of Tehuacan, in the province of Puebla, where Teran had a respectable division. The congress, together with the most respectable inhabitants of that part of the country, determined to accompany the Independent forces; and the expedition of Morelos is said rather to have resembled the emigration of a vast body of people, than the march of an army. The Royalists hovered about this crowd without attacking it, until learning that Morelos had separated himself from the main body of his army, and with a small division of cavalry, lay at a place called *Tepecuacuilco*, they attacked him on the fifth of November, 1815. After a short combat his troops were defeated, and he himself taken prisoner. He was conducted to Mexico, degraded and shot on the twenty-second of December, 1815, at San Christoval, in the neighbourhood of the capital.

The members of the Mexican Congress, after the capture of Morelos, pursued their route to Tehuacan, where they continued to exercise their doubtful authority, until they were dissolved by Teran. This arbitrary act proved fatal to the cause of the Patriots. The military commanders in the different provinces acted from that moment as independent chiefs, and the war was feebly carried on, until the arrival of general Mina, who landed at Galveston, in November, 1816.

Mina, nephew of the famous Guerilla chief, Mina y Espoz, who has lately been so much distinguished by his disinterested and devoted attachment to his country, left England with a small expedition in May, 1816, and after touching in the United States, where he received some succours, he landed at Galveston in the month of November of that year; he spent some time here organizing his forces, and did not reach Soto la Marina, until the sixteenth of April; he entered this place without opposition, and after constructing a small fort, he left here his military stores under the protection of a small garrison, and on the twenty-fourth of May took up his line of march for the interior of Mexico. At this time, his whole force consisted of three hundred and eight men, including officers

On the eighth of June, he encountered a body of the enemy near the town of the Valle del Mais, and after a smart skirmishing routed them, and took possession of the town. He made no halt in this place, but anxious to form a junction with the Independents, pushed forward towards the interior. On the night of the fourteenth of June, he encamped at the hacienda de Peotillas, and the next morning was attacked by a very superior force. His little band defended themselves valiantly, and Mina, on this occasion, proved himself a brave and skilful officer; the enemy were compelled to abandon the field, after sustaining a heavy loss. The ensuing day, Mina continued his march into the interior, and on the eighteenth, took by assault the town of *Real del Pinos*, which was garrisoned with three hundred men. On the twenty-fourth he effected a junction with the Patriots at *Sombrero*, after a march of two hundred and twenty leagues' which he accomplished in thirty-two days, during which, the troops had endured, with cheerfulness, great fatigue and privations. They had been animated by their gallant leader, who shared their hardships, and who in the hour of danger was distinguished for his valour and presence of mind, and in battle was always to be found leading them on to victory. They arrived at Sombrero, two hundred and sixty-nine rank and file.

From Sombrero, Mina sent despatches to the government, setting forth the object of his entering the country, and offering his services. He wrote likewise to Padre Torres, who bore the title of commander-in-chief.

Having received information that some forces of the enemy,

amounting to seven hundred men, were in the neighbourhood, Mina left the fort, which was commanded by Don Pedro Moreno, and marched to meet them. Having been joined by a guerilla under Ortiz, his troops amounted to four hundred men. On the thirtieth, they found the enemy drawn up at the hacienda de los Llanos, about five leagues from San Felipe. The Royalists, unable to withstand the vigorous charge of the Patriots, were routed, and fled in confusion, leaving more than half their number on the field of battle.

After remaining a few days at Sombrero to refresh his troops, Mina, accompanied by Don Pedro Moreno, made an excursion is far as Xaral, a large hacienda twenty leagues from Guanaxuato. This place was taken by surprise, and by its capture the Patriots gained an immense booty. They returned to Sombrero, where Mina received accounts of the fall of Soto la Marina—it surrendered on the fifteenth to the Royalists under general Arredondo.

Soon after the return of Mina from Xaral, a large division of the Royalists invested Sombrero, and after an obstinate defence, the Independents were compelled to evacuate the place, and to cut their way through the enemy. Fifty only of Mina's troops survived this siege. Mina himself had escaped from the fort some days previous, in hopes of obtaining succours for the besieged from Padre Torres. Finding his application unavailing, he retired to Los Remedios, the head-quarters of Torres, where he was joined by the remnant of his forces. Flushed with success, Liñan advanced against Remedios, and on the 31st of August laid siege to that place. Torres, with some of Mina's officers, remained to defend the fort; while Mina, at the head of a small body of cavalry advanced towards Guanaxuato. He possessed himself successively of the hacienda of Biscocho and the town of San Luis la Paz, and attacked San Miguel el Grande; but learning that a strong body of the enemy were on the march to relieve the place, he thought it prudent to retire to the Valle de Santiago, then in possession of the Patriots.

He was here joined by a great many Patriots, and soon found himself at the head of one thousand horse. With this force he advanced to relieve Remedios, which was invested by the enemy, but finding his numbers insufficient for such a purpose,

he retreated to the mountains near Guanaxuato, pursued by the Royalists under Orrantia.

The Royalists continued to press the siege of Los Remedios with great vigour, and Mina to harass them with his cavalry, and to cut off their supplies, until at length he was attacked at the hacienda of La Caxa by Orrantia, and completely defeated. He retreated to Pueblo Nuevo, a small town about four leagues from the scene of this disaster, where he rallied a few of the fugitives; but of those who escaped, the greater part returned to their respective homes. His only resource in this state of things was to proceed to Xauxilla, the seat of government of the Independents, in the hope of inducing them to aid his future operations. Here he urged the expediency of attacking Guanaxuato, and after some opposition, prevailed upon them to adopt his plan. Being furnished with some troops, he proceeded to the Valle de Santiago, where he found a small body of men from Xalapa waiting his arrival. The approach of the division of Orrantia compelled Mina to abandon the Valle, and making a rapid march through the mountains, he descended in the rear of the enemy, and reached La Caxa.

Here he mustered eleven hundred men, and marching all night across the country, he gained an unfrequented spot called La Mina de la Luz, where he was joined by some further reinforcements; and his little army now amounted to fourteen hundred men. With this force and without artillery, he had the temerity to attack the city of Guanaxuato, and it is not surprising that he failed. After burning the machinery of the mine of Valenciana, Mina retired from Guanaxuato, and dismissed his troops to their several stations, retaining only sixty or seventy men. On the twenty-seventh of September, Mina was surprised at the rancho of Venadito, and fell into the hands of Orrantia. Orders for his immediate execution were dispatched by Apodaca, who was then viceroy of New Spain. He was conducted through Silao, to Irrapuato, and finally to the head-quarters of Liñan, who commanded the besieging army before Remedios; where, on the eleventh of November, he was shot, pursuant to his sentence. The capture of Mina was considered a matter of so much importance in Spain, that Apodaca was created *Conde del Venadito;* and Liñan and Orrantia received marks of distinction for their services on this occasion.

The siege of Los Remedios, was now pressed with renewed vigour, and Torres finding the place no longer tenable, and being without ammunition, resolved to evacuate it. This was effected on the night of the first of January, 1818: but was so badly conducted, that the greater part of the garrison perished, and the unarmed inhabitants, women and children, were involved in one indiscriminate massacre.

The death of Mina, and the fall of Los Remedios, enabled the Royalists to take active measures to reduce the Independents. The fortress of Xauxilla, where the government resided, was invested by a body of one thousand men, under Don Matias Martin y Aguirre. The garrison defended the place with great courage during three months, but was finally obliged to surrender.

The revolutionary government, compelled to remove from Xauxilla, established itself in the province of Valladolid. In the month of Febuary, 1818, they were surprised by a pary of the enemy, and the president made prisoner. The form of government, however, continued to be kept up, although the members were obliged to move from place to place. Padre Torres, who since his disaster at Los Remedios, had rendered himself odious by his capricious and tyrannical conduct, was formally deposed from the chief command, and Don Juan Arago, a French officer, who arrived in the country, with Mina, appointed to fill his place. The Padre resisted this decree of the government, and both parties had recourse to arms. The contest between them was terminated only by the advance of a division of Royalists under Donallo; Torres was compelled to submit, and to place himself under the protection of the government.

From this time, July, 1819, the war languished every where. The Royalists occupied all the strong places and every town. General Guerrero, who was distinguished for his courage and enterprise, continued at the head of a formidable guerilla in the Tierra Calliente of the province of Valladolid. Arago roamed over the mountains of Guanaxuato. Bradburn, another of Mina's officers, organized a small force in the Cañadas de Huango; but was overtaken by a division of the Royalists under Lara, and his party cut to pieces. Guadalupe Victoria, after maintaining himself a long time in the province of Vera Cruz, had been compelled to disband his troops, and to retire to the mountains for refuge. The chiefs and leaders were dispersd throughout the

country, waiting until the cause of independence should assume a more favourable aspect.

The termination of the first revolution is principally to be attributed to the opposition of the clergy. The cry of liberty, raised by Hidalgo and his brave companions in arms, was echoed with exultation by all classes of people, and from the remotest parts of the empire: and notwithstanding their want of concert, the strenuous opposition of the clergy alone, prevented success being secured by a general rising of the Mexican people.

They were exhorted to persevere in their loyalty to the mother country; anathemas were thundered out against the disaffected; the rights of the church were denied them; and the inquisition, that powerful instrument of despotism, by denouncing and persecuting the friends of liberty, by alarming the conscientious scruples of some, and by exciting the fears of others, checked the progress of the revolution, and aided the arms of the Royalists. By these means, the Patriots were divided and weakened: Creoles were armed against Creoles, and despotism and superstition triumphed.

The contest for independence, although conducted feebly and unsuccessfully, was protracted for many years, and produced some good effects. The Creoles and Indians, who continued firm in the cause of liberty, were soon taught to attribute their ill success to the true causes—their own want of discipline, and the inexperience of their commanders—rather than to the spiritual weapons of their adversaries; and ended by despising the curses and anathemas of the church.

The revolution in Spain was viewed with dread by the clergy of Mexico; and no sooner had the decrees of the Cortes, confiscating the estates, and reducing and reforming some of the higher orders of the clergy, reached America, than the indignation of the church burst out against the mother country. They declared from the pulpit, that these tyrannical acts must be resisted—that the yoke was no longer to be borne—and that the interests of the catholic religion, nay, its very existence in America, demanded that Mexico should be separated from Spain.

The influence of the clergy, although in some measure diminished, was still powerful, and had for years controlled the wishes of a vast majority of the nation. To have withdrawn

their opposition would have been sufficient to have occasioned a general movement of the people. They did more; they encouraged the people to resist the tyranny of Spain, and took an active part in organizing the plan of operation by which the revolution was successfully effected. They were aided in their plans by the wealthy Europeans, who were anxious to preserve this kingdom in the pureness of despotism, that it might serve as a refuge to Ferdinand the Seventh from the persecutions of the Cortes, and from the constitution of Spain.

Don Augustin Iturbide was fixed upon as a proper agent to carry their plans into effect. Although a Creole, he had been an active and a zealous officer of the king, and had fought valiantly and successfully against the friends of liberty. The Europeans considered him as attached to their party and interests; the clergy relied upon his maintaining them in all their privileges and immunities; and all parties knew, that he would be opposed to a liberal form of government. They were ignorant of the projects of personal aggrandizement, which he is said to have entertained even at that period. Iturbide had been appointed by the viceroy to command the army destined to crush the remnant of the insurgent forces. This enabled him to act promptly and efficiently. The priests and Europeans furnished him with some money; and on his march towards the south, he seized on a convoy of specie belonging to the Manilla merchants. He soon formed a junction with Guerrero, who commanded the Patriots in that quarter—an event, which, in order to deceive the viceroy, he attributed to the good policy of his administration, in offering a pardon to all who would claim the protection of government within a certain period.

Emissaries had been dispatched by the revolutionists in the capital, to every part of the empire, and by the time the armies reached Iguala, the people were every where ready to declare in favour of independence. On the twenty-fourth of February, 1822, Iturbide proposed to the chiefs the plan of Iguala, which was unanimously adopted by them, and was immediately transmitted to the viceroy, and to all the governors of provinces. The plan provides, first, for the protection and preservation of the holy Catholic religion: secondly, for the intimate union of Europeans and Creoles; and thirdly, for the independence of

Mexico. It declares that the constitution of the empire shall be that of a limited monarchy; and offers the crown, first, to Ferdinand VII., and then to the other members of his family in regular succession; provided that he or they shall agree to reside in Mexico, and shall take an oath to maintain the constitution which shall be established by a congress, to be assembled for that purpose. It further provides for the protection of the persons and property of the citizens; and for the preservation of the privileges and immunities of the secular and regular clergy. It declares all the inhabitants of New Spain, without distinction of persons, Europeans, Africans, and Indians, and their descendants, to be citizens of the monarchy, and to be eligible to all offices according to their merits and virtues: and to carry this plan into effect, an army, called the army of the three guarantees, is to be raised, which is to preserve the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion, to effect the independence of the empire, and to maintain the union of Americans and Europeans in Mexico.

The first intimation received by the viceroy Apodaca, of the defection of Iturbide, and of the force under his command, was the promulgation of the plan of Iguala, and he used every means in his power to frustrate the revolutionists, and to prepare for defence; but the Royalists, either believing that he wanted sufficient energy of character for such a crisis, or dissatisfied with his measures, deposed him and placed an officer of artillery, Don Francisco Novella, at the head of the government. The Europeans were startled by the establishment of a Cortes, and the avowal of an intention to controul the monarch, but they were informed that such a provision was necessary to reconcile the Creoles to the plan—and as the clergy were satisfied, they were compelled to submit. On the first of March, Iturbide assembled the officers of his army, and submitted to them this plan. He exposed his views, and laid before them the resources and means he possessed of carrying them into effect; and after assuring them, that they were at liberty to act as they might think proper, he urged them to give their opinions. He was interrupted by shouts and *vivas* from the officers, who not only approved the plan, but insisted upon creating him lieutenant general, that he might lead them at once to the capital and enforce its observance. Iturbide declined the promotion, and recommended to them the greatest moderation, declaring it to be

his intention not to proceed to hostilities, until he had tried every means of negociation. On the ensuing day, the army took an oath to maintain the plan of Iguala; and on that occasion, Iturbide addressed them in the following words: "Soldiers, you have this day sworn to preserve the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion; to protect the union of Europeans and Americans; to effect the independence of this empire; and, on certain conditions, to obey the king. This act will be applauded by foreign nations; your services will be gratefully acknowledged by your fellow-citizens; and your names will be inscribed in the temple of immortality. Yesterday I refused the title of lieutenant general, which you would have conferred upon me, and now I renounce this distinction (tearing from his sleeves the bands of lace, which distinguished a colonel in the Spanish service.) To be ranked as your companion, fills all my ambitious desires," &c. &c. &c.

The subsequent conduct of this chief, shews how very insincere were these professions.

Few Creoles approved the plan of Iguala. Most of them objected to pledge themselves to receive a prince of the house of Bourbon, or even to adopt a monarchial form of government. They were told that Hidalgo, Albudo and others, had used the same language, and at the commencement of the revolution had declared their only object in taking up arms to be the preservation of America, for Ferdinand the Seventh: that a prince of the house of Bourbon would unite all parties, and prevent anarchy and civil war: that he, being a stranger without influence and without resources, surrounded only by a small body of his personal dependants, might be compelled to observe the constitution. Notwithstanding these arguments, they yielded only because they had not the power of dictating other terms. It is not probable, however, that either party considered the plan as binding on them, but that all believed that a congress elected by the people would possess the power of altering or modifying it, so as to suit the circumstances of the country, or of adopting any form of government most pleasing to the majority of the nation,

On the part of the Royalists there was a shew of resistance in some of the provinces; but the public opinion, no longer restrained by the opposition of the clergy, manifested itself so

powerfully as to effect the revolution in every part of the empire without bloodshed, and almost without a struggle. From Iguala, Iturbide crossed over to the *Baxio*, that rich and fertile country situated between Guanaxuato and the capital. Here he was joined by several general officers and governors of provinces. Guadalupe Victoria, who had resisted the Royalists to the last, and who, since the dispersion of his forces, had been concealed in the mountains of Vera Cruz, united himself with Iturbide at San Juan del Rio. His presence gave confidence to the revolutionists, and added strength to the cause of independence. *Guadalupe Victoria* (an assumed name) had been distinguished from the commencement of the revolution, by his devotion to the cause of freedom, and by his valour, activity, and disinterested generosity; and he had won the hearts of the people by the strictest observance of the forms of the catholic religion.

The army of the three guarantees marched upon Queretaro, which from its position may be considered the military key of the interior provinces, and gained immediate possession of that place. Here the army was formed into two divisions. One, commanded by Guadalupe Victoria, marched towards the capital; while the commander-in-chief made a rapid movement upon Pueblo. This place too was given up as soon as he appeared before it.

Things were in this state when general O'Donoju arrived at Vera Cruz, to take the command of the country as captain general and political chief of Mexico. Finding, as he himself declares, the empire possessing forces sufficient to secure the independence it had proclaimed, the capital besieged, and the legitimate authorities deposed; the places of Vera Cruz and Acapulco alone in the possession of the European government, without garrisons, and without the means of defending themselves against a protracted and well directed siege, he proposed to treat with Iturbide on the basis of the plan of Iguala. This proposal was readily acceded to, and the parties met at Cordova, and soon agreed upon the terms of negociation. It was stipulated, that New Spain should be considered a sovereign and independent nation; that commissioners should be sent to Spain to offer the crown to Ferdinand VII. and that in the mean time a governing Junta and a Regency should be appointed, and that a Cortes

should be immediately elected and convened for the purpose of forming a constitution.

General O'Donoju engaged to use his influence with the commander and officers of the European troops, to induce them to evacuate the capital; but when he applied to them, they refused to yield to his request. At the same time, they expressed their readiness to submit to the authority with which he was vested by the king, and to obey whatever orders he, as commander-in-chief, might think proper to extend to the garrison of Mexico. In consequence of this, he agreed upon terms of capitulation with Iturbide, and the garrison marched out of the capital with the honours of war, and were quartered at Toluca, there to remain, until the transports were ready to convey them to Spain.

As soon as the revolutionists took possession of the capital, a Junta, composed of thirty-six members, was appointed; by them a Regency, consisting of five persons, was chosen, of which Iturbide was made president. He was at the same time appointed admiral and generalissimo of the navy and army, and assigned a yearly salary of one hundred and twenty thousand dollars.

The attention of all classes was now directed to the convocation of a Cortes; and Iturbide presented to the Junta a plan, by which he proposed, that two Chambers should be constituted. The first to be composed of twelve or fifteen clergymen, and an equal number of officers of the army, of one member to be chosen from each of the city councils of the different cities of the empire, and of one from each territorial supreme court of justice. The second Chamber, from which all the classes composing the first were to be excluded, was to consist of deputies to be elected by the people, in the proportion of one for every fifty thousand souls. This plan, submitted to the Junta in the name of the Regency, was rejected; but in that which was finally adopted, the same proportion of representation to population was preserved, and it was directed, that those provinces which elected more than four members, should send one ecclesiastic, one military man, and one lawyer, so that all classes might be fairly represented.

The people, generally, were not satisfied with this plan; and a conspiracy was formed, at the head of which, were Generals

Bravo and Guadalupe Victoria, in order to compel the Junta to adopt the mode of election pointed out by the Spanish constitution. This plot was revealed to Iturbide on the eve of its execution; and the generals, together with several of the conspirators, were arrested and thrown into prison.

On the 24th of February, 1822, the Congress met in the capital. Previous to the installation, the members were assembled in the cathedral, where they were compelled to bind themselves by an oath to adhere to the plan of Iguala, and to preserve inviolate every article of that compact: and immediately after this installation, they voluntarily and solemnly sanctioned that plan, by an unanimous vote in favour of each separate article. Their subsequent acts shew what little weight these pledges had upon their deliberations or conduct.

The Cortes was soon divided into three parties: the Bourbonists, or those, who were *bona fide* in favour of the plan of Iguala; the republicans, or those who were for establishing a liberal and republican form of government, and who denied the right of the army to pledge the nation by the plan of Iguala; and the friends of Iturbide, who sought to secure wealth and rank by advancing him to the supreme authority. Among the Bourbonists were many enlightened and honourable men, who thought that to adopt the plan of Iguala would prove the means not only of reconciling the Europeans to the revolution, but of checking the ambitious designs of Iturbide, which had now become manifest, and of securing the people free institutions and a limited monarchy, which they considered best adapted to the circumstances of the country. The republican party thought the nation capable of self-government, and justly feared, that a prince of the house of Bourbon, the dispenser of rank and honours, with the means of corruption in his hands, and assisted by the clergy, would not long submit to be governed by a constitution, and would not hesitate, whenever he possessed the power, to deprive them of their chartered rights. Between these parties, the Iturbidists held the balance, and threw their weight into either scale, as best suited the object they had in view. Whenever it was thought necessary to counteract the tendency of the people in favour of a republic, they voted with the Bourbonists; and they supported the republican

party whenever it was proposed to carry into effect that part of the plan of Iguala, which called a prince of Spain to the throne of Mexico. But the Bourbonists and republicans soon found it necessary to unite, in order to counteract the ambitious projects of Iturbide, who had removed to Tacubaya, with about four thousand men, whence he attempted to controul all the measures of government. On the first joint meeting of the Regency and Cortes, to the surprise of every one, Iturbide assumed the president's chair: the Congress, however, asserted their rights, and he was compelled to resign it to the president of that body: and, although it was subsequently contended by his friends, that he had a right to preside over the deliberations of both bodies when sitting together, they failed to carry this point. From this moment commenced a struggle for power between the Cortes and Iturbide, which terminated in the dissolution of that body. The principal subject of dispute was the frequent demands for money made by the executive, which, with the best intentions, the Cortes would have found great difficulty to meet. A civil war of twelve years had exhausted the resources of the country, and the expenses of the government had been very much increased since the adoption of the plan of Iguala. The army had been augmented and the pay raised, and, in addition to the former ordinary expenses, they were burthened with the salaries of officers which were created by the revolution. The commander-in-chief received one hundred and twenty thousand dollars per annum—his father, a pension of ten thousand—each of the ministers, eight thousand—and members of Cortes, a salary of three thousand. The frequent calls for money, the Cortes answered by remonstrances against the wasteful expenditure made by the Regency, and demands for an account of the disbursements of former appropriations, which had never been furnished. In this state of things, the army remained unpaid, and their discontent was augmented by the commander-in-chief, who, in order to exasperate them against the Cortes, published his manifestoes and remonstrances, addressed from time to time to that body, setting forth the wants of the soldiers, and accusing the representatives of wilfully exposing the army, which he styles, "the most meritorious part of the community," to the

greatest sufferings and privations; and the country to the most imminent danger, by refusing to furnish the executive with the necessary supplies.

The royal garrison of Mexico, which, agreeably to the terms of their capitulation, was encamped at Toluca, attempted to take advantage of this state of things, and to effect a counter revolution. The conspiracy was disclosed to Iturbide, who took the necessary precautions to defeat it; and seized upon this pretext, to withdraw from the capital all the troops which were favourably disposed towards the Cortes,* or which might oppose his views. He then issued a proclamation setting forth that the country was in danger, and summoning the Cortes to assemble at an early hour the next day.

When the Cortes and the Regency met, in conformity to this summons, to the surprise of every one, Yanez, a member of the Regency, in whose name the summons had been issued, rose, and demanded the cause of the alarm, with which, it then appeared, that Iturbide alone was acquainted, and, that he had on his own responsibility, issued a proclamation in the name of the Regency. Yanez protested against this usurpation of authority on the part of the president, and ended, by saying, that he and his colleagues acted merely as a screen—that, in fact, Iturbide was the sole regent, and governed absolutely and despotically. Iturbide, in his reply, accused Yanez of being a traitor to his country and a personal enemy to him; and, in the course of this very tumultuous session, he declared that there were many members of the Cortes, who were not only his personal enemies, but traitors to their country, and to the cause of independence. He was loudly called upon to name them, and to exhibit his charges against them, and to bring forward his proofs. He instantly named several members, who were the most distinguished for their probity and talents: and brought against them charges of so frivolous a nature, and so entirely unsupported by evidence, that the Cortes, after examining them, came at once to the unanimous conclusion, that there was no ground of accusation against these members. In consequence of this scandalous scene, several petitions were presented, pray-

* One of these regiments had petitioned the Cortes to establish a republican form of government.

ing that the Cortes would change the members of the Regency; and three new regents were appointed. Yanez and Iturbide were retained; the first on account of his conduct on the third of April, when he denounced the usurpation of the president; and the latter because it was necessary to conciliate the army.

A more serious cause of dispute soon arose. The Cortes very wisely directed their attention to the organization of the militia, and were desirous of reducing the standing army to twenty thousand men. Iturbide, on the contrary, used every effort to augment the army. Some of his arguments on that subject are truly singular. They are contained in a message to the Cortes.

The Cortes persisted in their resolution; the army was reduced to twenty thousand men, and an auxiliary force of thirty thousand militia were called into the field. This decree exasperated Iturbide, and it was resolved by his friends to carry their plans at once into effect. They were aware, from what had occured on the 3d of April, and by the subsequent change that had taken place in the Regency, that the tide of public opinion was turned against them, and that if they waited until the army was new modelled, it would be too late for them to act with any prospect of success. On this occasion, none of the commissioned officers were employed. The sergeants of three regiments then in garrison in the capital, which were known to be attached to the commander-in-chief, were intrusted with this commission. On the night of the 18th of May, they assembled the soldiers, harangued them, and distributed money among them. They marched out of their quarters and drew up in front of Iturbide's house, where they were joined by a mob of *Leperos*. At ten o'clock commenced the shouts of Long live Iturbide, Augustine First, emperor of Mexico, and the firing and vivas were continued until morning. Under a pretext of a regard for the personal safety of some of the most distinguished members of the Cortes, who were known to be opposed to the ambitious views of Iturbide, a private intimation was conveyed to them that their lives would not be safe if they appeared in public the next day—that the troops were much exasperated against them; and, in their present excitement, it would be difficult, if not impossible, for the officers to prevent them from committing acts of violence. Some of these

gentlemen took this advice, and about forty members were absent when Iturbide was proclaimed Emperor. The ensuing morning, the Cortes assembled, amidst the shouts, insults, and threats of a disorderly soldiery, and of a mob, led on by the most abandoned, worthless, and unprincipled men in the community. When silence was obtained, a member rose, and, after setting forth the occurrences of the night as an act of the people, he proposed, that the assembly should forthwith proceed to the election of the emperor. The members, although prepared for this proposal, remained for some time silent; at length, one of them, in order to gain time, expressed an opinion, that the provinces ought to be consulted, before they proceeded to an election—that they had been sent there not to elect an emperor, but to frame a constitution. At this sentiment, the troops and the populace, that filled the galleries, became furious. They brandished their swords and knives, and shouted out, that they would cut the throats of the deputies if Iturbide were not elected and proclaimed before one o'clock that day. The members did not dare any longer to resist this infuriated mob. Iturbide was sent for; and the Cortes gave a reluctant consent to the choice of the soldiers. So proud were these men of their triumph, that two days after, they published a manifesto, boasting of the part they had taken in the elevation of the emperor; and in which they attribute the design and execution of that event entirely to themselves. Most of the provinces submitted to this usurpation without any open complaint, and, after a short delay, took the oath of allegiance to the new emperor.

Iturbide having gained this object of his ambition, sought to render himself absolute, and the struggle for power between him and the Cortes did not cease with his elevation to the throne. He at once demanded the right of appointing his own privy council, and the judges of the supreme court, and to be vested with the power of a veto upon all laws, not excepting the articles of the constitution, which the Cortes were about to frame. The Cortes agreed, that he should appoint his own council, but insisted upon nominating the secretary of that body themselves. They refused to confer upon him the power of appointing the judges of the supreme court, and wished to leave the question of the veto to be determined by the consti-

tution. In the mean time they proposed to grant his imperial majesty a right of making objections and proposing alterations to the laws, with the advice and consent of the council, and within fifteen days after they were sent to him. The articles of the constitution and all laws on the subject of imports, were to be exempt from this revision. At first, the emperor agreed to these proposals, but he soon after renewed his pretensions. He urged that the powers were vested in him by the constitution of Spain, which had been declared by the Cortes to be the law of the land, and therefore could not be withheld from him.

It appears that immediately after the installation of the Cortes, it became necessary to designate the powers of the executive, to prevent them from interfering with those of the Cortes. On this occasion the dangers and difficulties of governing the nation, without a written constitution, were forcibly urged by some of the most enlightened members, and it was proposed to adopt that of Spain, until they could form one of their own. This measure was agreed to without a division; but they excepted all the articles of that constitution which were at variance with the plan of Iguala, the independence of Mexico, and the *decrees of Cortes*. Thus reserving to themselves the power of passing all necessary laws, even such as were in contradiction to the constitution they had adopted temporarily. That instrument could not therefore confer any powers upon the emperor, in opposition to the will of the Cortes.

After a long struggle, that body reluctantly yielded to the emperor the privilege of appointing the secretary of his own privy council, but they continued to insist upon their right of nominating the judges of the supreme court. What rendered the Cortes so pertinacious on this subject, was, their knowledge of the character of the emperor, and their fears, that he would place on the bench men devoted to his interests, to the perversion of all justice and to the establishment of despotism.

Notwithstanding the disgraceful scenes which daily took place in the hall of congress, and the disorderly conduct of the soldiery in the galleries, the Cortes continued firm in its opposition to the views of the emperor; and the project of a law submitted to them by the minister of justice, by order of his majesty, as the result of the deliberations of the council of state, was rejected unanimously and indignantly. In the preamble to

that law, the council declare: "That the interruption in the administration of justice—the robberies, murders, assassinations,—the banditti that infest the high-ways—the disorders that disturb the public tranquillity—the absence of all punishment, an impunity, authorised as it were, by law, clearly shew that the administration of justice is paralyzed, that there are no judges, no tribunals of justice, and that the commission of crimes has gone so far, that the ordinary tribunals are not sufficient to suppress them. To remedy these evils it is thought expedient to adopt a new system for the administration of justice; and the following articles are proposed to be passed into a law:

1st. That there shall be in this city, and in all the capital cities of the provinces, a special tribunal, composed of two officers of the army, and of one lawyer, to be appointed by the emperor.

2d. This tribunal shall have exclusive jurisdiction, or jointly with the other judges, in all cases of conspiracy against the state, and jointly with the other judges in all cases of robbery, assassinations, and murders.

3d. All appeals to be made to the Captain-General of the provinces, who shall pronounce sentence after hearing the opinion of a solicitor, appointed for that purpose.

4th. This sentence to be carried into execution whenever it agrees with that of the first tribunal; and in case of disagreement, the cause to be referred to a council of war.

5th. The articles 287, 293, 295, 299, and 300 of the Spanish constitution to be suspended. (These provide for the habeas corpus.)

6th. That there shall be in this capital, a chief, with whatever name or title the emperor may choose to confer on him, especially charged to watch over the public security, and to exercise the most vigilant police.

The committee of congress appointed to examine and report on this project of a law, declared—

1st. That it is contrary to the enlightened principles of those authors, who have written on the subject of government with most philosophy.

2d. Contrary to public opinion, which all governments are bound to respect.

3d. Contrary to the Spanish constitution, which has been adopted until a new one be formed for the empire.

4th. Contrary to reason, which ought to guide the legislation of a people.

5th. Contrary to the interests of the Mexican nation in its present situation.

This report was unanimously adopted by the house, and the project, which aimed at the establishment of military tribunals, was rejected.

On the night of the 26th of August, fourteen of the most distinguished members were arrested, on a charge of conspiring against the present system. On the 27th, Congress held a secret session, and demanded of the minister the cause of the arrest of these members. He replied that some of them were suspected, and others actually implicated in a conspiracy, and they had, in consequence, been arrested by virtue of an article of the Spanish constitution, granting this power to the executive. On the 29th, Congress agreed to address a message to the minister, informing him, that as the constitution provides, by the 172d article, that all persons who are arrested shall be brought before a competent tribunal, within forty-eight hours; and that as the deputies arrested on the night of the 26th instant, were still in prison, they demanded an immediate compliance with this article of the constitution, and they declared that they would remain in permanent session until this was done. They were answered, that the cause was of so complicated a nature, that it would be impossible to comply with their request, or to conform to the constitution in this particular: that the article 172* spoke only of one person, and could not apply to several, who were accused of the same crime: that the accusation brought against one person, might be examined in forty-eight hours, but that it was impossible, without a manifest miracle, to examine into the cases of several accused persons within so short a period. An address was then voted to his majesty, praying that the constitution might not be violated in this particular, and that the deputies might be delivered up to them, to be tried by the tribunal appointed by Cortes; but before it was sent, two of the counsellor of state were admitted to explain the causes which had induced the arrest of the deputies, and the reasons for not complying with the demands

* That no person shall be kept under arrest more than forty-eight hours, without being brought up before the competent tribunal.

of Congress. Their explanation not being deemed satisfactory, the address was sent at two o'clock in the morning. At three, the deputies returned with an assurance from his majesty, that he had no intention to depart from the path traced by the constitution, and promising to answer the address as soon as possible. The next night at nine o'clock, his majesty's answer was received. It repeated the interpretation given to the 172d article of the constitution by the minister, and declared that the deputies, who had been arrested, could not be delivered to the tribunal appointed by Congress, until it was ascertained whether the members who composed that tribunal were or were not themselves implicated in the conspiracy, which could not be done within so short a period as forty-eight hours. This message was warmly discussed and somewhat abused by the members of Congress; but that body, after meeting in secret session day after day until the 12th of September, resolved, for the present, to say no more about the arrest of their colleagues, who remained in close confinement.

The disputes on the subject of the nomination of the judges, and on the manner of giving the imperial sanction to the laws, continued; and, at length, his imperial majesty assembled at the palace a Junta, composed of the members of Congress who were favourable to his views, of the ministers, council of state, and general officers. To these, he stated, that the country would be ruined if the number of the members of Congress were not diminished; that the majority aspired to establish a democracy, under the name of monarchy; that they had not yet given a constitution to the empire, but had adopted that of Spain, which was not suited to the circumstances of the country; that they had not provided for the prompt administration of justice, nor for the exigencies of the treasury, by organizing a system of finance.* It was agreed, at this meeting, to propose to Congress, that their number should be diminished, and

* The members of Congress admit the justice of these remarks, but attribute this apparent neglect to the continual persecutions of government, interrupting their discussions on these important subjects, and refusing an account of the expenditure; as they supposed, to prevent the executive from being bound by constitutional checks, or limited in its expense by salutary regulations.

that they should grant to his imperial majesty a veto on all laws, and a nomination of the judges of the supreme court.

The ministers, accompanied by four councellors of state, waited on Congress with the proposals, and were admitted to discuss them.

Congress were of opinion, that all the persecutions they underwent, arose from their obstinate refusal to allow his imperial majesty to appoint the judges of the supreme court; and finding that many of the laws which they had passed, were returned to them with insulting representations, and that government did not even pay the printers, so that their decrees were not published, they determined to yield this point as means of avoiding greater evils. They granted to the executive, the appointment of the judges, and a veto on all laws that were not articles of the constitution. His imperial majesty was not satisfied with these concessions, but insisted on a diminution of their number, and an unqualified veto, extending even to articles of the constitution. Congress, by a very large majority, refused to assent to these demands, and the next day, a general officer entered the hall, charged with a commission from his imperial majesty to dissolve the assembly, and with orders to expel them by force if they continued above ten minutes longer in session. The president directed this order to be spread upon the journals; the general signed it without hesitation, and the members retired.

The ensuing day a proclamation was published, accusing the deputies of congress of neglect of duty in not having given to the nation a constitution; of not attending to the administration of justice; and of witholding the pay from the army. It set forth that, under these circumstances, it became necessary to dissolve that body, and ends with the following decrees:

1st. The Congress is dissolved from the moment this decree is promulgated

2d. The national representation shall be continued until a new Congress can be assembled, in a Junta, composed of two members from each of the larger provinces, and of one from the smaller—*all of whom I will nominate.*

3d. The business to which this Junta shall attend is to be determined by separate regulations.

The members of Congress, not of this Junta, must, in order to

leave the capital, signify their intentions to the political chief. Those who remain, and are not inhabitants of this city, may apply to the treasury for their daily pay.

The Junta shall meet and commence their duties on the second day of November.

On the day designated, this Junta, consisting of forty-five members of Congress, selected by the emperor, and of eight substitutes, met in the hall, at five o'clock in the afternoon, and a little after dark, his imperial majesty made his appearance, and took his seat on the throne, from which he read the following address:

"Gentlemen:—When the nation, borne down by the chains, which it had dragged for the space of three centuries, could not explain its wish to recover its natural independence, I, with a small number of troops, resolved to declare it, in the face of frightful perils; and from that time, my voice, in consequence of that act, became necessarily and essentially the organ of the general will of the inhabitants of this empire. It became my duty to consider well, and to seize the true points of what is politically called the general will, and this important consideration constituted one of the many essential prerequisites for the success of the undertaking. In this manner I settled the basis, on which the majesty of the government of a nation so great, and of such extensive territory, ought to rest. I declared the right that it had acquired to adopt the constitutoin best suited to it. I adverted particularly to the necessity of convoking a national representation, not by the *demogogical* and anarchical method, prescribed by the Spanish constitution, but by just rules, and such as are suited to our circumstances. This most delicate work I might have accomplished myself: but my fervent desire to act right, made it appear to me more secure to entrust it to an assembly of men the most distinguished for their talents, probity, fortune, and employments." After telling them, that the conduct of the former government had led the nation to the brink of a precipice, he said, "That in order not to fall into it, it had become necessary to step backwards, not by the devious path that we have lately followed, but by that of the plan of Iguala; by which we reached the difficult and glorious goal of our independence. Let us return boldly, gentlemen, and follow this sure road, watered with sweat and laurels; let us

march on it with a firm and tranquil step, and the happiness of the nation will be secured. Let us bear this nation along to the glorious epoch of its establishment, in a peaceful, solid, and stable manner. Let us organize its representation in such a manner, that it shall yield no other than the pure, limpid, clear and general sound of the public wishes, and let us profit by the experience of the past for the future. The rock on which we have struck, is, that the sovereign power, by a most impolitic error, has been transferred from the mass of the people, to whom it exclusively belongs, to a Congress. An authority so powerful, as not to be subjected to any law, nor to admit any rule but such as it chooses to prescribe for itself, must act in an arbitrary manner; and such a state of things is characteristic of, and peculiar to, a despotism, as it is incongruous and repugnant to a limited government. Man is disposed to abuse power; for it is extremely difficult that he, who can do all that he wishes, will not desire to do more than he ought; and if, with respect to one man or to a few persons, it is imprudent to trust to a presumption of virtuous and voluntary moderation, there is nothing in a numerous body that ought to inspire greater confidence. It is true that our Congress followed the example of the Spanish Cortes; but whoever copies from a deformed model, will he not increase its imperfections? And what shall we come to, if we follow in every thing, that pernicious example?" &c. &c. With a deal more in the same style.

The *Reglamento* of the national instituting Junta was then read by the minister of state.

They were empowered to form the project of a constitution. The orators of the government to be admitted to discuss this project, and all other laws. In short, it was to proceed in every thing in accordance with the executive, and can be regarded in no other light, than the organ through which the will of his imperial majesty was to be communicated to the people.

The minister of the treasury read an exposé of the state of the public revenue, which has not been published. It appeared that the expenses were not less than thirteen millions, and the receipts were supposed to be eight millions. In mentioning the state of the public treasury, which the emperor urged the Junta to take into immediate and serious consideration, he hinted, "that there was a large sum of money detained in

Perote, belonging to Spaniards, who had left, or were about to leave the empire."

A few days after this meeting, the Junta decreed a forced loan of two millions five hundred thousand dollars; and as the exigencies of the state were urgent, they took for its immediate use, the money sent by the merchants to be embarked at Vera Cruz, and which had been detained at Perote.

Iturbide did not long enjoy his power in tranquillity. In the northern provinces, an insurrection broke out in the month of October, which, from the well known disposition of the people in that part of the country, would have proved formidable under an able leader. *Garza*, who began the revolt in Sato la Marina, and was gathering strength as he advanced, made scarcely a shew of resistance when met by the Imperial forces.

Shortly after this event, the garrison of the castle of San Juan Uloa, made an unsuccessful attempt to destroy the works on the flanks of the city of Vera Cruz. On receiving intelligence of this act of hostility, the Junta issued a decree, prohibiting all intercourse with the castle, and all commerce with Spain. The exportation of monies or goods, belonging to European Spaniards, was strictly forbidden.

After some correspondence with the governor of the castle, the emperor thought it probable, that in a personal interview, he might induce him to accept terms mutually advantageous. He accordingly left the capital on the tenth of November, and in a few days reached Jalapa. On his passage through Puebla, he was magnificently entertained, and the people evinced their joy at receiving the emperor, by every demonstration of loyalty in their power. The bishop of Puebla is supposed to have been a principal agent in bringing about the revolution, and in exalting Iturbide to the throne; he is represented by all who know him, to be a man of talents, well educated, and of mild and amiable manners. He now possesses unbounded influence, and is regarded as the head of the church in Mexico. The archbishop of Mexico, whom all parties unite in praising for his knowledge and virtue, would not be concerned in the elevation of Iturbide. He refused to crown him, and retired from the court to his country seat, where he has ever since resided.

The emperor went no farther than Jalapa. The governor would on no account leave the castle, and commissioners were ap-

pointed by both parties to treat of peace. They met at Vera Cruz, but after a short discussion, separated without coming to terms. Here an occurence took place which led to most important results.

Santana, the governor of Vera Cruz, an active enterprizing officer, who commanded the forces that stormed that city when it was taken from the Royalists, and who had long enjoyed an independent command, could not brook the controul of a superior. Disputes soon arose between him and Echavarri, the commander-in-chief of the southern division; and Santana was summoned before the emperor at Jalapa, to answer the charges preferred against him by Echavarri. Sure of the protection of his imperial master, to whom he had always shown the most devoted attachment, he readily obeyed the summons; but to his great surprise, Iturbide treated him harshly, and dismissed him from the command of Vera Cruz. Enraged by this unexpected treatment, Santana suddenly left Jalapa, and riding day and night, arrived at Vera Cruz before the news of his disgrace had reached there. He instantly assembled his own regiment, and exposed to them the odious character of the government imposed upon them by Iturbide, and exhorted them to take up arms in defence of the liberties of their country. This exhortation was in unison with the wishes of all the officers, both of the garrison of Vera Cruz and of the neighbouring towns. The character of Santana, and his supposed attachment to the emperor, had alone prevented them from openly declaring in favour of a liberal system of government.

The standard of the republic was unfurled at Vera Cruz, and Santana addressed a letter to Iturbide, in which he reminds him of the obligation he owed to him, of the part he had taken in his elevation to the throne, and of the affection he had always manifested for him—but declaring, that his duty to his country now required him to set aside every other consideration, and to oppose the man who had reduced the nation to the utmost misery. He reproaches him with having broken his oath and dissolved the Congress by violence; and tells him that the people are convinced, that under this government the sacred rights of property will never be respected. He then states his intention to re-assemble the Congress, and to establish a republican government: sets forth the means he possesses of carrying his plan into effect, and advises Iturbide to renounce the crown, and to rely upon

the generosity of the Congress, which will take care to reward his services.

The emperor did not relish this advice, and ordered Echavari, who was at Xalapa, to advance with the division under his command against the insurgents, as he called the troops of Santana. The latter advanced to Puente del Rey, which he fortified, and several smart actions were fought between the Imperialists and Republicans. In this state of things, Guadalupe Victoria left his hiding place in the mountains and joined Santana. At first he was appointed second in command, but Santana soon found the interests of the party required, that an officer, who had been an undeviating republican, and who enjoyed the entire confidence of the troops, and of the people, should be raised to the supreme command. Guadalupe Victoria was accordingly declared commander-in chief—the people flocked to his standard, and the insurrection spread throughout the whole province.

On the first of February, 1823, an arrangement was made by Echavarri and the officers commanding the Imperialists, with Guadalupe Victoria, and Santana—and the two armies united, sent commissions to Iturbide, offering terms; but insisting upon a congress being immediately assembled to frame a liberal and republican constitution. Iturbide in his turn sent commissions to Echavarri and his officers, to endeavour to divert them from their purpose, and immediately marched with a small body of troops and took post at Istapaluca, a town four leagues from the capital, on the road to Puebla. The defection of the army of Echavarri, was the signal of revolt in all the other provinces. Oaxaca, Guadalajara, Guanaxuato, San Luis Potosi, declared in favour of a republican government; and in the capitals of those provinces, and in Queretaro and Valladolid, the inhabitants rose and imprisoned the Imperial commanders. The generals Guerrero and Bravo, men who had been distinguished in the wars of the revolution, secretly departed from Mexico, and appeared in arms in the west.

In reply to Iturbide's proposals, the republican generals demanded the immediate convocation of the Cortes, and a large sum of money to pay the troops; with the latter request Iturbide would have found it difficult to comply, even if he had had the inclination so to do. To relieve his exigencies, he issued,

on the first of January, 1823, four millions of paper money, which was by law made a legal tender for one-third the amount of any debt or purchase. It was received at the custom-house in payment of duties in the same proportion. As may readily be supposed, this paper currency immediately depreciated, and its issue occasioned great discontent among the people, which was not a little augmented by the emperor's calling upon the Padres Provinciales for a contribution in church-plate.

The province and city of Puebla were soon after added to the number of Iturbide's enemies. The Marquis de Vivanco assumed the government of that place, and soon organized a strong force. The army of Xalapa now pushed forward to Puebla, where they were joined by Negrete, and several officers of distinction, and the advanced guard of the Republicans was stationed at San Martin de Tesmelucos.

The emperor returned to the capital, and on the eighth of March, he called together all the members of the old Congress, who were in the city, and tendered his abdication. A few only of them could be brought together, and not being a quorum, they refused to act.

The partisans of Iturbide continued to desert him; and at length, finding himself entirely abandoned, and his situation hopeless, he, on the nineteenth of March, addressed a letter to the Congress, containing his abdication, and retired to Tulancingo. In this letter he says, "that he accepted the crown with the greatest reluctance, and only to serve his country; but from the moment he perceived that his retaining possession of it might serve, if not as a cause, at least as a pretext for civil war, he determined to give it up; that he did not abdicate before, because there was no national representative, generally recognised as such, to receive it. That as his presence in the country might serve as a pretext for dissentions, he will retire to some foreign land, and asks only a fortnight to prepare for his departure; and finally solicits Congress to pay his debts."

This letter was referred to a committee of Congress, and in their report, (which is a curious document,) they refuse to admit the renunciation of his power, or his abdication of the crown, as that would suppose a right to have existed to the thing renounced. They recommend that he should be permitted to depart the kingdom, and be allowed a yearly income

of twenty-five thousand dollars for the maintenance of his family and suite.

Iturbide was escorted to Antigua, near Vera Cruz, by General Bravo, and on the 11th of May, 1823, embarked on board an English ship, chartered to convey him to Leghorn. His family and suite consisted of twenty-five persons.

On the 27th of March, the Republican army entered the capital. The old Congress was immediately convoked; a provisional government established, and an executive, composed of three members, appointed. Generals Bravo, Victoria, and Vegrete, were the first chosen; the two first are natives, the last an European of distinguished talents.

Before the Republican forces entered the capital, somewhere about the 21st of March, Santana sailed from Vera Cruz, with six hundred men, and after a short passage landed at Tampico. He advanced rapidly through the country, and took up his headquarters at San Luis Potosi. Here he declared himself Protector of the Federal Republic; for the country was now divided on the question, whether the government of Mexico should be central, like that of Columbia, or federal like that of the United States. He failed, however, to inspire the people with confidence in his intentions; and as the government of Mexico dispatched a force against him, he was compelled to submit, and is now under arrest in the capital.

Immediately after Iturbide was sent out of the country, measures were taken to call a new Congress, and deputies were elected throughout the country by the people. In these elections, the partisans of Iturbide and the Bourbonists, were alike excluded. The new Congress assembled in the capital, and in a short time framed the project of a constitution, which has since been adopted with very little alteration.

The commissioners who arrived from Spain before the fall of Iturbide, remained in the castle of San Juan de Ulua until after that event; they were then permitted to enter the country. Xalapa was designated by the Mexican government as the place were the conferences should be held, and General Guadalupe Victoria, was empowered to treat with him. The negociations were, however, soon interrupted by the commencement of hostilities between the castle of San Juan de Ulua and the city of Vera Cruz.

An attempt of the government to fortify the Island of Sacrificios and the opposite point of land, so as to from a new port of entry, in order to avoid the exactions vessels were subjected to, from the castle, on entering the harbour of Vera Cruz, occasioned this rupture. The governor resorted to force to prevent the execution of a design, calculated to destroy the only means he possessed of maintaining the garrison of the castle.

The negociations were at once broken off, and government published a decree, prohibiting all commercial intercourse with Spain.

The partisans of Iturbide, for some time after his departure, continued to disturb the public tranquillity; but as they were well known to the government, and closely watched, their designs were constantly defeated.

Another cause of dissatisfaction existed, in the desire of some of the members of government, to form a central government at Mexico. This was resisted by several of the provinces; and at one time, Gaudalajara and other districts were in a state of revolt, insisting upon the establishment of a federal form of government. Their wishes were acceded to, and the federal constitution, which was adopted with great unanimity, was sworn to in the capital, on the 2d of February, 1824, amidst the rejoicings of the people. The provinces are proceeding to organize the state governments, and great harmony appears now to prevail over the whole Republic.

Early in the month of January, the province of Puebla was thrown into a state of great confusion, by General Echavarri, who commanded the forces stationed there. This officer, an European by birth, who had contributed so essentially to the downfall of Iturbide, by uniting his forces to those of Guadalupe Victoria and Santa Ana, at Casa Mata, now refused to obey the orders of the executive; with what design does not appear to be well understood. General Guerrero was immediately dispatched, at the head of a small force, to quell the insurrection, which he effected without bloodshed. General Echavarri, deserted by his troops, was seized and conveyed a prisoner to Mexico. Another insurrection broke out, shortly after, at Cuernavaca, headed by one Hernandez, which was quelled in like manner by General Guerrero.

Causes of discontent arose in the capital about the same

time, which had well nigh produced the most fatal consequences. The numbers of Europeans, who filled the different posts of government, had probably been continued in office, both because they were well acquainted with the ordinary routine of business, and because they were connected by marriage with Creoles of rank and influence. The exclusive employment of Europeans in this way, had been regarded by the Creoles as one of the most unjust and oppressive regulations of the colonial government; and now that they possess the power, they feel disposed to exclude the Europeans from all places of profit or trust. A formidable opposition was created with this object, and the garrison of the capital, with their commander general, Lobato, at their head, demanded that the Congress should instantly dismiss all Europeans from office. Congress, with great firmness, refused to comply with this demand, and summoned general Lobato to appear before them. In the mean time great exertions were made by the government, and by the friends of order, to collect a body of troops sufficient to awe the factions, and to win over a part of the garrison. After a negociation of two days, Lobato surrendered himself at discretion to the government, and was pardoned. Some of the more obstinate, led on by Lieutenant Colonel Staboli, refused to submit; but were deserted by their followers, and delivered by them to the government. Staboli, an Italian by birth, was tried by a court martial, found guilty, and sentenced to be shot. At the solicitation of the executive, Congress commuted his punishment to perpetual banishment, and he, together with twenty-three other officers, were sent out of the country.

After this insurrection was suppressed by the firmness and prudence of Congress, it was thought adviseable to remove all further ground of complaint on that score. Arrillaja, the minister of finance, an European by birth, was dismissed, and Medina, a native American, was appointed to fill that department. Other changes were made; and the government humanely decreed, that the Europeans, so dismissed from office, shall receive one-third of their former salary as a pension for life.

The most serious difficulty the government labours under, arises out of the state of the finances of the country, exhausted, as they have been, by protracted civil wars, and by the lavish expenditure of former administrations. They may support

themselves for a short period by loans, but the permanent revenue of the country must be drawn from the resources of the country, by a well organized system of finance. A loan for twenty millions of dollars has been contracted for, with the house of Barclay, Herring, Richardson, & Co. of London; and in order to answer the immediate exigences of government, the sum of one million and a half of dollars has been borrowed from the house of Robert Staples & Co. of London, who have a partner in Mexico.

The former Captain-Generalship of Guatemala, declared its independence at the same time with Mexico, but refused to unite with that government. Since the fall of Iturbide, these provinces, with the exception of Chiapa, have formed a federal government, with the style and title of the Confederated States of the Centre of America. The constitution they have framed, provides, that the Roman Catholic religion shall be exclusively the religion of the Republic, and prohibits the public exercise of any other.

The legislative branch is composed of delegates elected in the proportion of one to every thirty thousand inhabitants; to be renewed every year by one half. The same representatives re-eligible only once, without an interval of one term; and of a senate consisting of two members, chosen by the people of each state. These bodies have nearly the same powers as the House of Representatives and Senate of the United States.

The Executive, a President and Vice President, are elected by the people of the several states, for the term of four years, re-eligible once without an interval. The Vice President presides over the deliberations of the Senate.

The Judiciary consists of a Supreme Court, composed of individuals elected by the people, and to be renewed by thirds every two years. The members re-eligible.

The constitution of the state governments are to conform to that of the general government. They are to consists of a popular assembly, a council or senate; and executive composed of two chiefs, the first to be governor, and the second president of the council. Both elected by the people for the term of four years; re-eligible once without an interval. This government has gone into operation, and has been recognized by that of Mexico.

DOCUMENTS

ACCOMPANYING THE HISTORICAL SKETCH.

ITURBIDE'S MESSAGE TO CONGRESS.

I HAVE already several times stated, that our country is in danger; that it is threatened on all sides; that it has both external and internal enemies; that those who would destroy it endeavour to persuade us that we have nothing to fear, and that its liberty and independence are securely established. I have repeatedly said, that for these evils there is no other antidote than an army of thirty-five thousand men, distributed as I have before stated; and I have said, that without an army and without a revenue, what has been hitherto done is lost, and will serve only to render our condition worse than before.

In expressing myself in this language, I have not had the folly to trust only to my own knowledge, although, whatever has happened I have hitherto foreseen; and notwithstanding that I now have, and always have had, in expressing my opinions, better grounds than an infinite number of quacks, without knowledge or talents in the science of government, vain of the nonsensical trash they have learned at school, and who have presumptuously and maliciously attempted to plunge us into disorder and confusion, and to destroy the work of my hands—yes, of my hands, as I may say, without being accused of vanity, that I gave liberty to the empire; and that I, without the co-operation of those who now presume to call themselves Patriots, effected the independence of this country; criticised and blamed by the talkers; assisted only by those who are silent. I mention this that the good may hope, and that the base may tremble. I wander from the principal subject. Let it serve me or not as an excuse, the love of my country that transports me, and the grief I feel in foreseeing the inutility of the heroic efforts of my companions; the destruction of my labours, privations, and dan-

gers ; the ill use made of the excellence disposition of a people as docile as they are unfortunate, without any other crime than harbouring in their breasts vipers who prey upon their hearts.

By the accompanying documents, you will perceive the necessity of garrisoning the fortresses and provinces, of watching over our coasts, and guarding our seaports, in order to protect us from foreign invasion and domestic insurrection, for we are exposed to both, and perhaps within a short period.

Those who wrote them, do not wish to be believed on their word; but they have a right to insist on what they ask, because they give proofs and reasons; and those who oppose them have no resource but in common-place arguments, inapplicable and ridiculous in the age in which we live, and in our circumstances. Who would not be excited to anger by the pride and vanity of those, who, without having studied military tactics—without having carried on war—without being acquainted with the country, or its strong positions, or those that may be invaded—without correspondence—without intelligence; from caprice, only, opposed the opinion of those who are masters in war—of those who have given proofs of their adherence to liberty—of those who have every thing to lose in a revolution—of those who have travelled over the territory of the empire, and examined it with interest and intelligence? In Balize we are threatened by the English; on the side of Texas our neighbours feel an interest; on various points of our eastern frontier, by the barbarous nations; in Guatemala with anarchy; in California by the Russians; in Vera Cruz by the Spaniards; in the provinces with civil war, and on all sides by the nations of Europe. Ambassadors leave the country that recognise us.

In Cadiz they are fitting out a squadron of vessels; in Madrid they call us traitors; in London, in Paris, in Lisbon there are emissaries of our ancient oppressors. Vienna, Petersburgh, and the Prussians, have already, in Naples, made an attack against liberty.

The whole of Europe will not consent, unless obliged to do so by force, that this continent should have governments independent of them. Europe is aware, that the Americans organized into constituted societies, will become the depositaries of knowledge, of power, of commerce, and industry; and that at the end of five years, she will be, with respect to us, what the

Greeks and Romans were with respect to her, after the death of Alexander and the destruction of the eastern and western empires.

I thought myself relieved from meddling in erudite reflections. I am but a soldier, and was persuaded that it was enough for me to know how to use the sword. But what am I to do, if you do not, or will not, know the truth? It is necessary that the good should learn it, and the bad be confounded by it; and against these arguments, documents, and principles, what do visionary men oppose?—the unfounded dread of despotism, a liberalism badly understood—maxims learnt by rote from some philosophers, who wrote in their cabinets without having seen the world, or understood public business. What people are, at this time, more free than those of Great Britain, Holland, Russia, (Switzerland), and the United States; and how did they acquire their liberty and safety? Cromwell, the Prince of Orange, William Tell, and Washington, saved their countries from tyranny by fighting, and by commanding soldiers. How has Columbia in our days been constituted? How Chile? How is Peru about to be so? In what state has Mexico been until now? Without a constitution—without an army—without revenue—without any division of powers—without being acknowledged—with all its flanks unprotected—without a marine; the people unquiet, insubordinate—abusing the liberty of the press, and morals; the public authorities insulted; without judges, without magistrates. What is Mexico? Can this be called a nation? And in what a state! Already the army that laid the corner-stone of our liberty is burthensome; already they abuse it; they despise it; they wish to destroy those to whom they owe their fortune, their political, and even natural existence; they, who exist because the army choose that they should live. This is the blackest ingratitude and the most brutal ignorance.

Finally, your Excellency will make all this manifest to their Serene Highnesses, that they may take such measures as they may deem necessary, in which case I answer for the discipline of the troops, and the security of the state. And that if they do not decree the force called for, and send it to occupy the points mentioned, and systematise the revenue shortly, so that this army be fed and provided with whatever is necessary, they may proceed, by whomsoever thinks that he has authority

to do so, to nominate a General to command the army, and a President of the Regency. My resignation of those offices must be taken for granted in the mere fact of not seeing the remedy, or in not receiving an answer. I make this resignation, and renounce all command, in the full conviction that it is my duty no longer to delay it. It is impossible that there should be any one, who is not perfectly convinced of the reasons that induce me to ask for an army of thirty-five thousand men, and if it is not decreed, it is only because they are jealous that I should command it. I create suspicions; I am thought inclined to tyranny: without doubt my nature is changed within a few days. I held the sceptre in my hand, and the people were anxious to place the crown on my brows. It is notorious that I refused it, at the cost of no slight efforts, and that I relinquished what no one could take from me; and notwithstanding this, I create fears, and they prefer that the nation should perish, or be governed by a stranger, rather than raise an army that I am to command. Well, let there be an end of these fears. Raise the army, which is important to the country, and let him command it, who deserves more confidence than I do. To retain the command any longer would be in me a crime.

MANIFEST,

Addressed to the Mexican People, by the Regiment No. 1, of the Infantry of the Line.

MEXICANS! Inhabitants of Anahuac! The fortunate, the glorious event of the memorable 19th, ought to quiet your fears and to calm your minds. The tyrants of Spain will not now return to oppress us; our noble services will now be free from the weight of their chains; our sons will be free, and will bless the worthies who obtained their liberty. They will call to mind the great day on which the hero of Iguala mounted the throne, the Father of the people, who broke our chains, and what is more, their worthy and well-beloved countryman, the immortal Iturbide.

Yes, Mexicans, the sergeants of the first regiment of infantry, have likewise the satisfaction of being the first who had the noble daring to undertake this great and dangerous enterprise. It was the worthy and meritorious first sergeant of our body, "Pio Marcha," who, reflecting upon the misfortunes that threatened our soil, if the despot Ferdinand, or any other of his dynasty, should ever govern us, first conceived the noble idea of destroying these evils by proclaiming an emperor, who, being born among us, would look upon us with the eyes of a loving father, and to whom, with less fear and more confidence, we might expose our wants and ask the relief we required; and who more deserving to grasp the sceptre, and to fill the throne of Mexico, than he, who sacrificing all his comforts and even his very existence to break our chains, crushed the pride of Spain?

Confident that the sergeants of his regiment would be of the same opinion, as all are animated with the same desires for the good of their country, he discovered to them his project, that they might assist him in so great an enterprise. How could the first regiment refuse to risk their lives to effect it; they who have always sought the happiness of their country? This regiment, then called Celaya, encountered the greatest perils in the late revolution, to maintain order, so that our long-wished-for emancipation might be effected with more certainty. It was the first in the town of Iguala, that resolved to sacrifice itself in favour of the cause of the nation; to dethrone despotism, and to give freedom to the present and future children of this beautiful hemisphere. It remained constant after once resolving, without fluctuating for one moment, and gave an example to the other regiments. The sergeants of infantry of the regiments of Guadalajara, No. 4, 2, 3—those of the escort of Imperial horse grenadiers—the artillerists of the palace, and of the department of Salto del Agua, who united, assisted with their companions, at this proclamation; all were summoned by the meritorious sergeant *Pio Marcha*. To him is due the union of opinion in those regiments, and the happy result of the 19th of May.

Glory be to the All-powerful, for having granted us the satisfaction of seeing upon the throne of Anahuac, the hero Iturbide; without that event having cost one drop of blood. A principal

object with this regiment, was, to avoid unfortunate accidents, and to prevent them. We had intended that the proclamation should take place early in the morning of the 19th, but an unforeseen event obliged us to make it on the night of the 18th.

However, Mexicans, the All-powerful designed to protect us, and it was effected as you have seen; give him the most grateful thanks for so signal a favour; and if the regiment deserves your esteem, honour it with your confidence; for as it has known how to aid us to be free and happy, it will know how to maintain us in the enjoyment of our rights, or to die to preserve them.

Mexico, 21st May, 1822.

DECREE OF THE EXECUTIVE OF MEXICO,

Prohibiting all intercourse with Spain.—Published the 8th of October, 1823, immediately after the commencement of hostilities by the governor of the castle of San Juan de Ulua.

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY FOR WAR AND MARINE.

(CIRCULAR.)

THE Supreme Executive Power has thought fit to address to me the subjoined Decree:—

"The Supreme Executive Power, provisionally appointed by the Sovereign Mexican Congress, taking into consideration—

"That the war with Spain never could be considered concluded, until that nation formally and solemnly recognised the independence of North America; which has been the object of thirteen years' constant and sanguinary sacrifices—

"That nevertheless, the Mexican nation and its government, practising the principles of lenity and prudence, which characterize Americans, permitted the existence of friendly relations with Spanish subjects; free trade in their produce and manufactures; the removal of their effects and natural property, and the free entry of their merchantmen into our ports.

"That notwithstanding this generous conduct, and forgetful of her true interests, the Spanish nation has not taken a step which shews a real disposition for peace; but, on the contrary, keeping in view her ancient ideas of dominion, she maintains a force, on a small point of the Mexican territory, with the daring design of thence issuing to reimpose upon the natives of this land, that ignominious yoke of servitude from which they have so gloriously emancipated themselves.

"That the governor of a small fortress, after making, on points of this continent, pretensions which are unjust and inconsistent with the laws of nations, observed by all free states—forgetting the presence of the commissioners of his cabinet, charged with negociations for treaties of commerce—and failing in his promise to the magistrates of Vera Cruz, not to open his fire without previous notice, in order that the peaceful citizens might remove their persons and property from the ravages of war. This he, however, did, without the requisite intimation, on the evening of the 25th September last, and cannot be believed not to act in pursuanee of orders and instructions from his government.

"Finally, as it is the duty of this government to defend the integrity of the territory which has been confided to its care—to maintain the glory and dignity of the nation—to cause the flag which has conducted our warriors to victory, to be respected—and in conformity with the laws of war, to diminish the enemy's means of continuing hostilities, it has decreed and does decree:

1st. That the roadstead and the said fortress being under the fire of our batteries and gunboats, the castle of San Juan de Ulua is hereby declared in a state of blockade. Vessels of war belonging to the nation and her allies, will, therefore, attack the castle with all the means of war in their power.

2d. Merchantmen belonging to Spanish subjects shall be compelled to sail from the ports of Mexico, within twenty-four hours after the notification of this decree; and shall not on any pretext again enter therein, under pain of being declared good prize.

3d. The importation of Spanish produce and manufactures is prohibited at all custom-houses, and maritime ports. Neutral ships which may bring such merchandize, shall be allowed forty days, if they come from an American port, and four months, if

from an European port; but after these periods, they shall also be considered good prize.

4th. The punishment imposed by the existing laws shall be inflicted on all persons, whatever may be their rank or situation, who shall be found to keep up any intercourse with the garrison and inhabitants of San Juan de Ulua, as every kind of communication must be completely cut off.

5th. All Spanish vessels to which this decree may be notified, and which do not thereupon immediately sail for a foreign port, shall be declared good prize; as they shall also be, if, after this intimation, they be taken steering towards any of our ports, or of Colombia.

6th. The present decree shall be communicated to the generals commanding departments, to the commanders of the national fleet, to the commanders of the ships of allied and friendly nations, to the post captains, and to all the persons in authority; to whom it belongs to watch over its execution, under their most strict responsibility.

Given in Mexico, October 8th, 1823.

Executive. { MARIANO MICHELZANA, *President*,
JOSE MIGUEL DOMINGUEZ,
VINCENTE GUERRERO.

JOSE JOAQUIN DE HERRERA, *Secretary.*

For the purpose of securing the most scrupulous fulfilment of the present decree, I communicate it to your Excellency, in order that in all respects, in so far as you are concerned, care may be taken of its execution; and that you may render an account of the infractions which come to your knowledge. God and Liberty.

J. J. DE HERRERA.

Mexico, October 8th, 1823.

PROJET OF A CONSTITUTION

FOR THE

MEXICAN REPUBLIC;

Offered to the Sovereign Constituent Congress, at their Session of the 20th of November, 1823, by the Committee appointed for that purpose.

PREAMBLE.

THE Committee, charged with the duty of drawing up and presenting to the Congress a *projet* of a Constitution, which is to fix for ever the destiny of six millions of freemen inhabiting the Mexican provinces, and to raise them to that degree of prosperity to which nature invites them, and to that rank of independence, liberty, and glory, which their state of civilization, and their heroic efforts, continued through thirteen years of painful struggle to atchieve this happy termination, so imperiously demand—perceived at the very first step of their progress, the innumerable difficulties with which they would have to contend, in the discharge of their duties upon so interesting a subject; and they would have utterly despaired of being able to accomplish them, if they had not been aware, that the same power which inposed on them a task so difficult of execution was that upon whose patriotism, wisdom and prudence, would devolve the duty of bringing to perfection, the great work of forming a Constitution worthy of the Mexican nation.

They relied, too, in a great measure, for success, upon the wisdom and advice of the government, as communicated through the Secretaries of Despatch, who indeed were present from the beginning, at the daily and nightly sessions of the Committee: as also upon the aid of other patriots, who, though not members of the Congress, and scattered over the provinces, constitute by their intelligence and their virtues, the most illustrious ornaments of their country.

Gaining courage from the presence and assistance of such powerful auxiliaries, the Committee entered boldly upon the work. And fixing their regards in the first place upon the po-

litical state of the nation, they deemed it their primary duty to impress upon the constituent congress, the imperious and urgent necessity of holding out to the provinces some immediate and certain point of re-union; a safe cynosure to the general government; imparting to it at the same time all the authority, activity, and energy necessary to ensure the national independence, and to consolidate our liberties by every means compatible with a strict execution of the laws; and to the people a natural guarantee, the strongest which can be given, for the exercise of their imprescriptible rights, wrested from them for a period of three centuries, and now recovered after a war of thirteen years.

Impressed with these ideas, and actuated by these just and laudable motives, the Committee would have devoted their labours at once to the formation of a *projet* of a Constitution; but the very nature of this work, and above all, the imperious necessity of reanimating and invigorating the nation almost at the point of dissolution, and enjoying a regular exercise of its functions, led them to the determination of offering this *projet* to the Congress for their deliberation, as an act constituting the Mexican nation, that while it served as a basis for their ulterior operations, it might answer the immediate purpose of giving to the provinces, and to the people of all classes who inhabit them, a firm pledge for the enjoyment of their natural and civil rights, by the definitive adoption of a determinate form of government, and by establishing the same upon such a footing as to secure the development of its most important attributes.

The Committee have the honour of presenting it to the Congress, without being able to flatter themselves that they have reached the attainment of their object, notwithstanding the sincere and ardent wishes by which they have been animated. The Congress will perceive in it the organization of the nation, and the form of government which, in the opinion of the Committee, is most in conformity with the general will, and therefore most likely to produce the happiness of the people, which is the end of every good government.

If the political situation in which we are placed, had not presented evils which demand an immediate remedy, the Committee would have employed a longer time in explaining in detail the reasons which determined them in their preference

of a government for the Mexican nation, under the form of a representative popular federate republic; but the conduct of the former Congress upon this point, that of the government, and above all, the acts and speeches of almost all the provinces, save them from the necessity of such an exposition; and they reserve for the discussions which may take place, the developement and further elucidation of the grounds of their sentiment.

As on the one hand it was of the most urgent and momentous importance, to give stability, force, and energy to the national government, and on the other it seemed to be natural that it should receive these qualities from the fundamental Constitution itself, in order, as far as it was in the power of the Committee, to bring together extremes which ought for the most part to be separated by some interval of time, they have thought it necessary to present the supreme powers of the federation as for ever divided, by fixing the limits and defining the faculties of each, so far at least as that they may be sufficient to give strength and support to the liberty and independence of Mexico, without, however, involving the presumptuous idea of a Constitution formed, like the world, in seven days.

To do justice to the general will—to reconcile it as far as was useful and possible to the practical principles of public right, so well known and so happily applied by the wisest nations, and those who are most jealous of their liberties—and to give a proof to the constituent Congress that their Committee are ambitious only of promoting the general felicity, they have presumed, in this project of a constitutive law, to propose to the Congress the re-organization of its own body, by the immediate convocation of a constituent Senate, in the establishment of which there will be a practical application, as far as possible, of those political principles which have been entertained by the most enlightened republics; and, besides, the great advantage will be gained of hastening, with full security to our country, a day of high glory, a day of general union, which that cannot fail to be, in which her general Constitution shall be ratified, published and circulated, in despite of her barbarous enemies, who have so long, and with such bitterness of rancour, laboured day and night to prevent its accomplishment.

Surrounded by difficulties, in their attempts to fix upon the number of states of which the federation of the Mexican nation

ought to be composed, the Committee confined themselves to one general principle: that is to say, that they ought neither to be so few, as by their extent and wealth to be able in the course of a few years to aspire to become independent nations, and thus break the federal compact; nor so many, that the system may become impracticable from the want of men and resources.

The Committee doubt whether they have attained their object; but they are determined to listen with respect and deference to those gentlemen who may choose to discuss the subject; and, indeed, to avoid all error, they have left the door open, that the general Constitution may be definitively settled upon this point only, after the most serious consideration and the clearest eludication.

Among the powers assigned to the supreme executive authority, the Committee have thought it their duty to grant some which have never yet been given to the executive of any central system, nor sometimes even to moderate monarchies. Such is the imperious nature of circumstances, arising from three centuries of ignorance and corruption, the empoisoned heritage of our oppressors; and such too is the imperious nature of that supreme law of all nations, the preservation of their independence and liberty. When the government is one of laws strictly administered, and not of men, there is but little danger to be apprehended from their severity, so long as their execution is entrusted to men of virtue and personal merit, who will not suffer them to be converted to the purposes of persecution, or to the punishment of the few as a warning to the many.

In the establishment of the government and powers of each state, the Committee have sought only to reduce to practice the genuine principles of the form of general government already adopted, leaving the powers of the several states themselves to operate within their respective territories for the promotion of their internal welfare, in so far as they may not interfere with the general order, or impede the rapid and majestic march of the supreme powers of the federation.

As the object of the Committee in the act mentioned, has been to give to the nation a point of general union and a firm support, upon which it might rest the preservation of its independence and the confirmation of its liberty, raising itself to that power and glory to which God, the author of all societies,

destines it, they have in conclusion several general resolutions to the Congress, in some of which the nation is introduced to the universe, invested with that candour and good faith which are so necessary to an intercourse with other independent nations, and to bind in social ties the whole human family. In others, the Committee, with that frankness which should characterize all who presume to direct the voice of six millions of men, who speak the same language, who profess the same religion, who have with few exceptions the same customs, represent the states of the federation, that the only thing required of them is, that for the interest of the whole, they should give up out of the sum of their rights, of which the present Congress are the depositaries, those which are necessary to the supreme powers for the promotion of the general welfare, retaining the rest to secure their own internal felicity; and lastly, by other resolutions, the Committee have intended, to affirm, as far as was necessary, the stability of the act is itself, in which, discarding all theories, and making practical applications of the soundest principles of public right, an act is in truth given, constituting the Mexican nation, fixing its eternal destiny upon a system accommodated to the light of the age, and adapted to the enjoyment of a national liberty, under the regulations of the law, which is the law, because it is the expression of the general will.

The Committee repeat, that, far from flattering themselves with having brought their labours to perfection, they have been induced to present them in so short a time, only as an evidence of the lively solicitude they feel to co-operate in the salvation of their country, so far as their feeble efforts can be useful; but their work will have been in vain if it should not be found to deserve the support of the intelligence and virtues of the Congress, and the united exertions of all Mexicans to give it effect.

Committee Room of the Sovereign Congress.
Mexico, 19th November 1823.

MIGUEL RAMOS DE ARIZPE.
MANUEL ARGUELLES,
RAFAEL MANGINS,
TOMAO VARGAS,
JOSE DE JEUSS HUERTA.

CONSTITUTIVE ACT OF THE MEXICAN NATION.

ART. 1. The Mexican nation is composed of the provinces comprehended within the territory of the ancient viceroyalty called New Spain, the captaincy-general of Yucatan, and the commandences-general of the internal provinces of the East and West.

ART. 2. The Mexican nation is free, sovereign of itself, and independent for ever of Spain, and of every other power; and neither is nor can be the patrimony of any family or person.

ART. 3. The religion of the Mexican nation is, and shall be perpetually, the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman. The nation protects it by just and wise laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other.

ART. 4. The sovereignty resides essentially in the nation, and therefore to it exclusively belongs the right of adopting that form of government which may appear to it most suitable for its preservation and greater prosperity, of establishing its fundamental laws by means of its representatives, and of amending or altering them as it may deemmost proper.

ART. 5. The Mexican nation adopts for its government the form of a representative popular federal republic.

ART. 6. Its integral parts are free, sovereign, and independent states, in what relates exclusively to their internal administration aud government, as is detailed in this Act and in the general Constitution.

ART. 7. The states of the federation are for the present as follow; *Chiepas; Guanajuato;* the interior of the West, composed of the provinces of *Sonora*, *Sinalsa,* and both *Californias;* the interior of the North, composed of the provinces of *Chihuahua*, *Durango* and *New Mexico;* the interior of the East, composed of the provinces of *Coahuila*, *New Leon*, the *Texas* and *New Santander; Mexico; Mechoacan; Oajaca; Pueblos of the Angels,* together with *Tlaxcala; Queretaro*; *San Luis Potosi Tabasco*; *Vera Cruz*; *Xalisco*; *Yucatan* and *Zacatecas.*

ART. 8 The Congress may, in the constitution, augment the number of states, by dividing and modifying those comprehended in the foregoing article, as may upon better information seem to them to be more comformable to the general will and the happiness of the people.

Divison of Powers.

ART. 9. The supreme power of the Mexican federation is divided into legislative, executive, and judicial, and the exercise of two or more of these shall never be united in a single corporation or person, nor shall the legislative power reside in a single individual.

Legislative Power.

ART. 10. The legislative power of the federation shall be lodged in a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate; constituting the general Congress of the federation.

ART. 11. The members of the Chamber of Deputies and of the Senate shall be chosen by the citizens of each state in the manner provided by the Constitution.

ART. 12. The appointment of representatives to the Chamber of Deputies shall be fixed upon the basis of population. Each state shall appoint two Senators in the manner prescribed by the Constitution.

ART. 13. It belongs exclusively to the general Congress to make laws and decrees.

First.—To maintain the national independence and to provide for the safety and welfare of the nation, in all that concerns its foreign relations.

Secondly.—To preserve peace and public order in the interior of the whole federation, and to promote its general prosperity and advancement.

Thirdly.—To maintain the mutual independence of the states as it regards each other.

Fourthly.—To preserve the federal union of all the states composing the Mexican federation, to regulate definitively their limits, and to settle all disputes between two or more states.

Fifthly.—To maintain the proportionate equality of obligations and rights of all the states under the law.

Sixthly.—To admit new states into the federal union, incorporating them with the Mexican nation.

Seventhly.—To fix on each year the general expenditures of the nation, upon the estimates which shall be made by the executive power.

Eighthly.—To establish the taxes which may be necessary

to cover the general expenditures of the republic, to determine their continuance, report whereof shall be made to the executive power.

Ninthly.—To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and between the different states of the federation and tribes of Indians.

Tenthly.—To contract debts upon the credit of the republic, and to assign sufficient guarantees for their payment.

Eleventhly.—To acknowledge the public debt of the Mexican nation, and to designate the mode of consolidating the same.

Twelfthly.—To declare war upon such data as may be furnished to them by the executive power.

Thirteenthly.—To designate the armed force by land and sea, to fix the respective quota of each state, and to form the ordinance and laws for their organization.

Fourteenthly.—To organize, arm, and discipline, the local militia of the states, that may be employed in the service of the union; reserving to each one the respective appointment of its own officers, and the right to discipline the militia agreeably to the mode prescribed by the general Congress.

Fifteenthly.—To approve of the treaties of peace, alliance, friendship, federation, armed neutrality, or of whatever nature, which the executive power may enter into.

Sixteenthly.—To grant extraordinary powers to the executive for a limited time, upon a full knowledge of the cause.

Seventeenthly.—To dictate all laws which may be necessary for the discharge of the present powers, and all others which may be granted by the Constitution to the supreme powers of the Mexican federation.

ART. 14. The general Constitution shall fix all other attributes, general, especial, and economic, of the Constitutional Congress; their extent, forms, and modes of discharging them, and the privileges of this body and of its members.

ART. 15. The present constituent Congress, without prejudice to the full enjoyment of their powers, for the purpose of perfecting their organization, as may appear most conformable to the general will, shall convoke a Senate, also constituent, composed of two senators appointed by each state, who shall revise and ratify the general Constitution; a law, to be forth-

with enacted, will regulate the mode of appointing senators, the manner in which they shall exercise their functions, and all other attributes of the Senate.

ART. 16. The general Constitution shall for a limited time lodge the executive power in an individual, with the title of *President of the Mexican Federation*, who shall be a native born citizen of the same, of the full age of thirty-five years. Other qualifications, the mode of electing him, and the duration of his service, shall be determined by the same Constitutional law.

ART. 17. A Vice President shall be appointed in like manner.

ART. 18. His attributes, besides those which shall be fixed in the Constitution, are as follow:

First.—To put in execution the laws for the preservation and greater consolidation of the integrity of the Mexican federation, and for the maintenance of its national independence abroad, and its union and liberty at home.

Second.—To appoint and remove at pleasure the Secretaries of Despatch

Third.—To see to the collection and to order the distribution of the public funds, arising from the national taxes, imposed by the general Congress, in conformity with the laws.

Fourth.—To appoint officers in all the general bureaus of finance, according to the Constitution and the laws.

Fifth.—To remove all officers of the government and of finance, and their dependences, with the consent only of the Secretaries of Despatch assembled in Council.

Sixth.—To declare war, the general Congress having first passed a decree of approbation, and in the manner pointed out in the Constitution, during the recess of the Congress.

Seventh.—To dispose of the permanent force by sea and land, and of the active militia, as may best promote the external defence and internal security of the federation.

Eighth.—To dispose of the local militia, for the same objects; but whenever the executive power shall deem it expedient to use this force beyond the territority of their respective states, he shall previously obtain the consent of the Congress, who shall authorize the force that may be necessary.

Ninth.—To appoint officers of the army, and of the armed

militia in service, agreeably to the existing ordinance and laws, and to what may be further provided in the Constitution.

Tenth.—To give pensions, and to grant furloughs to the military, regulating the same agreeably to the terms of the existing ordinance and laws, or to what may be hereafter enacted.

Eleventh.—To appoint all diplomatic and consular agents, with the approbation of the Senate, and until this shall be established, with the approbation of the present Congress.

Twelfth.—To direct all diplomatic negociations, to enter into treaties of peace, friendship, alliance, federation, truce, armed neutrality, commerce, and of what other nature soever; but in order to the ratification of any such treaty, the previous consent and approbation of the General Congress shall be necessary.

Thirteen.—To see that justice be promptly and fully administered by competent tribunals and courts, and that their sentences be executed according to law.

Fourteen.—To publish and promulgate, to observe and cause to be observed, the general Constitution and the laws, having the power to object once to the passage of such laws within the term of ten days from their enactment, and to suspend their execution as may seem to him proper, until the resolution of the Congress be had thereon.

Fifteen.—To issue decrees and orders, and to form and publish regulations for the better observance of the Constitution and laws, suspending from their employments, and deducting one-half the salaries of all officers who shall appear to have neglected his orders and decrees according to the tenour thereof; provided that such suspension shall not exceed three months, nor the subduction of salary be more than half for the same period, leaving the matter to be determined by the respective tribunal to which such officers may deem it their duty to resort.

Sixteen.—To pardon delinquents, or to commute their punishment, whenever serious grounds for so doing may require it, hearing the judge or judges in the cause, and obtaining the consent of the secretaries of despatch in council assembled.

ART. 19. All decrees and orders of the executive power, shall be signed by the secretary of the department to which the subject belongs, and without this requisite, they shall not be obeyed.

ART. 20. The President and Vice President, or others in

whom the executive power is lodged, during their term of office, and for one year thereafter, may be impeached and tried in all cases, when their conduct is manifestly contrary to the Constitution or laws, or to the general welfare of the republic and the duties of their office.

ART. 21. For the same causes, and within the same period, as mentioned in the cases of the President and Vice President, the Secretaries of Despatch may also be impeached.

ART. 22. The persons mentioned in the two foregoing articles, shall only be impeached by the Chamber of Deputies before the Senate. During the recess of the latter, the existing laws upon the subject shall be observed.

Judicial Power.

ART. 23. Every man who inhabits the territory of the Mexican federation, has a right to the prompt, easy, full, and impartial administration of justice, in all that relates to injuries, or prejudices formed against his life, his person, his honour, his liberty, and property; and for this end, the federation lodges the judicial power in the hands of a supreme court of justice, and in such tribunals and courts as shall be established in each state.

ART. 24. No man shall be tried in the territory of the states of the Mexican federation, but by laws enacted, and by tribunals established, prior to the act for which he may be tried; and therefore all judgment by special commission, and all *ex post facto* laws are for ever abolished. The tribunals established by the preceding Congress, for the prosecution of malefactors and robbers, are not special commissions.

Particular Government of the States.

ART. 25. The government of each state, shall, for the exercise of its functions, be divided into three powers; the legislative, executive, and judicial: nor shall any two or more of them ever be united in one body or person, nor shall the legislative branch be lodged in a single individual.

Legislative Power.

ART. 26. This shall reside in a Congress, composed of such number of members, as shall be determined by the particular Constitution of each state, elected by the people, and removeable in such time and manner as the same may prescribe.

ART. 27. A law to be immediately enacted, shall designate the electors, who, for the first time, shall be appointed to the legislatures of the states, where they are not already established, and the time, place, and manner of holding elections.

Executive Power.

ART. 28. The exercise of the executive power of each state shall only be confided, for a limited time, to be fixed in the respective Constitution of each state.

Judicial Power.

ART. 29. The judicial power of each state shall be exercised by the tribunals and courts that may be established by their respective Constitutions.

ART. 30. Every judgment shall be carried to its ultimate issue, and the execution of its final sentence, within the state in which suit was commenced; except in cases reserved by the general Constitution to the supreme court of justice, and to other tribunals.

General Resolutions.

ART. 31. The Constitutions of the respective states shall in no wise contravene this constitutive act, nor any article of the general Constitution; and therefore, they shall not be ratified until the latter shall be ratified, published, and promulgated.

ART. 32. Nevertheless, in order not to retard the well being of the states, by unnecessarily extending the sessions of their legislatures, they may provisionally organize their internal government; and in the mean time, the existing laws shall remain in force.

ART. 33. No criminal from one state shall find asylum in another, but shall be immediately delivered up to the authority claiming him.

ART. 34. No state, without the consent of the Congress, shall impose taxes or duties upon importations, or exportations, except such as may be absolutely necessary to carry into effect their laws of inspection; but the revenue produced by all duties or imposts of any state, upon importation or exportation, shall be for the use of the treasury of the states of the federation; all such laws remaining subject to the revision and examination of the general Congress.

ART. 35. No state, without the consent of the general Congress, shall establish any duty upon tonnage, nor keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace. Nor shall it enter into negociation or contract of any sort, with any other state, or with any foreign power; nor shall it levy war, except in case of actual invasion, or when the danger is so imminent as not to admit of delay.

ART. 36. The nation is bound to protect, by wise and just laws, civil liberty, personal security, prosperity, equality of legal rights, and all the other rights of the individuals who composed it.

ART. 37. All debts contracted, and all engagements entered into previous to the adoption of this Constitutive Act, are acknowledged by the federation, reserving their liquidation, and classification, to be made according to rules which the general Congress may establish.

ART. 38. The general Constitution—and, until that shall be promulgated, this Constitutive Act, which shall be the basis of it, —guarantees to each state of the Mexican federation, the form of government of a representation, popular federate republic, as adopted in Article 5, of this law; and each state is pledged to maintain, at all hazards, the general union of the whole.

ART. 39. This Constitutive Act shall not be altered, except in the time and manner prescribed by the general Constitution of the federation.

ART. 40. The execution of this Act is submitted, under the strictest responsibility, to the supreme executive power, who shall be governed by it from the date of its promulgation, exercising the powers therein conferred upon the president of the Mexican federation.

Committee Room of the Sovereign Congress,
Mexico, November 19th, 1823.

[SIGNED BY ALL THE COMMITTEE.]

No. 4.

REPORT

Made by the Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs, and of the Home Department, to the Sovereign Constituent Congress, on the business committed to his charge. Read in the Session of the 8th November, 1823.

In presenting to the Sovereign Congress, which is about to establish the happiness of the people, upon the solid foundation of a wise and liberal Constitution, a Report on the state of the nation, in relation to the administration of every branch of the external and internal relations which is committed to my charge, I wish it were in my power to offer to its consideration a picture that would be flattering as well as exact. But, unfortunately, my wishes in this respect cannot be gratified; circumstances known and lamented by all have brought the state to the most deplorable ruin, and notwithstanding the great efforts made by government to re-establish it, it has been found impossible to remedy, in a few months, the evils produced during many years of desolation, and by one year of errors.

If, in times of tranquillity and repose, under the influence of a Constitution adapted to our customs and wants, the annual memoir of this administration ought to present a comparative view of the successive progress of the nation, in every branch on which its prosperity depends; in circumstances entirely different, in the midst of those political movements which are inevitable, at a period when the foundations of the government and of public administration are about to be established—it cannot present any thing more than an exposition of the efforts which have been made, with more or less success, to prepare those happy results of the measures which, with this view, have been adopted, and of the plans which have been formed to promote, by every means, the national prosperity.

To collect the necessary information, in order to give a full view of the state of those affairs which pass through this office, as soon as the present government was installed, and could get

rid of that business which commanded its immediate attention, circumstantial accounts were demanded from all the provinces, respecting various subjects of their political and economical administration. Few have been received, and these, with few exceptions, are so general and unimportant as not to be very useful. Deprived of this resource, and with the assistance only afforded by an examination of the business which has passed through my hands, I will give an account of the principal subjects to which I am compelled to confine myself, dividing them into the two principal branches under my care, and classing them according to the order heretofore established.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Few could have been established, in this early stage of our political existence; and the nation, while its attention was occupied by domestic dissentions, had it not in its power to assume that attitude of majesty and consistency necessary to make itself respected.

Our independence, notwithstanding, has been acknowledged by the United States; and although the form of government, which then existed, differed from that adopted by that nation, and which we ought to desire to see become general on this continent, as is now taking place in the rest of America, they abstained from entering into an examination of the particular constitution of each state, and acknowledged the independence which the provinces formerly under the dominion of Spain enjoyed, *de facto;* appointing an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to this government, who has not yet arrived, and several consuls for this capital, and for our principal ports, who are now in the full exercise of their functions—the proper *exequatur* having been issued to them. From that time, nothing has disturbed our friendship and good understanding with that nation; and to avoid all subjects of difference whatsoever which might arise in future, our *chargé des affaires* in those states has been instructed to solicit, that with the consent of both governments, and in conformity with the treaty of Washington of the 22d of February, 1819, the dividing line may be run as is decided by the fourth article of the aforesaid treaty.

The Spanish Cortes authorised their government to send commissioners to those provinces of America, which were for-

merely Spanish, and which have declared their independence, in order to receive and transmit proposals of pacification. They were subsequently authorised to form provisionally commercial arrangements. Those destined to this government arrived at the castle of San Juan de Ulua about the commencement of this year, and made known to the then existing government, the character in which they came. The dissolution of that government prevented the conferences which otherwise would have taken place; and no sooner was the present government established, than they renewed their request to enter into negociations, in order to discharge the object of their mission.

They were permitted to advance into the country as far as Jalapa, and his excellency Don Guadalupe Victoria was appointed to open the negociations. As it appeared that Spain did not object to recognize our independence, the General was authorised to conclude a treaty with that nation, the basis of which was to be the absolute acknowledgment of our independence, and the surrender of the fortress of San Juan de Ulua, as an integral part of our territory. The interests of our brethren, the independent states of the rest of America, were not forgotten. They were engaged in the same glorious struggle as ourselves, and ought to be made partakers of our lot; and among other conditions, it was insisted that all hostilities against them should cease.

The Spanish commissioners declared, that before entering upon this part of the negociation, which was secondary to their principal duties, restricted as they were to hear, receive, and transmit proposals, in order to put an end to the disputes between this nation and Spain; those, therefore, which were to be made on our part, ought first to be submitted to them, in order to obtain their principal object.

They were answered, that the only proposals which could be made by this government, were reduced to an acknowledgment of our independence on the part of Spain, and the surrender of the castle of San Juan de Ulua, which incontestibly forms a part of our territory.

In this manner the negociations were carried on slowly, but without affecting the good understanding with which they had been commenced, when the pretensions of the commandant of San Juan de Ulua interrupted them, and gave them a new aspect.

On account of the national gun-boat Chapala, which, by order of the governor of Vera Cruz, was in pursuit of a boat, the crew of which had ill-treated a fisherman, settled on the island of Sacrificios, having anchored there, the Spanish general complained of this act, pretending that his authority extended to that anchorage. This government recognised no other right in the Spanish general but that of force; and the island and anchorage of Sacrificios are commanded by the fire of our coasts, and are beyond the reach of the cannon of that fortress. At the same time that complaints were made to the commissioners, of these hostile pretensions, other means were adopted to repel, if necessary, force by force; with this object our troops were ordered to take possession of the island, and to throw up a battery for their defence at Point Mocambo. The governor of the castle prevented the execution of the first project, by placing a detachment of troops in Sacrificios, and hoisting the Spanish flag. This gave rise to new discussions; the governor of the castle persisted in not abandoning the island, so long as our artillery was not withdrawn from the battery of Mocambo, a condition too humiliating to be complied with, and at length the castle opened its fire upon the city of Vera Cruz; and from that moment the negociations with the commissioners were broken off, and none but hostile measures ought now to be thought of. The government has put in operation, all the means warranted by the rights of war, with so much the more justice, that it had left nothing undone in order to maintain and consolidate a peace.

The political circumstances in which the nation was placed, during the progress of these negociations, contributed to retard them. The dissentions which manifested themselves in all the provinces, induced the commissioners to believe that even if the treaty should be approved by Congress, it might not be observed in future; as the manner in which they were obeyed in the provinces, rendered their authority to conclude such an affair somewhat doubtful; and this proves manifestly, that until the public opinion shall become uniform, and the fundamental laws be established, little or nothing can be done in our foreign relations.

With all the other nations of Europe, they remain in the same state in which they have been since the declaration of our independence. The great events which have produced such remarkable changes in that part of the world, have not yet extended their influence to this. They ought, however, to claim the ear-

liest attention of Congress, and to excite the vigilance of government. It was to be dreaded, that the allied sovereigns, who have interfered in the internal concerns of Spain, might desire to extend their views to the possessions which that country owned on this continent; but the disposition manifested by England, in some measure destroys such a suspicion, since ministers in that country declared in parliament, that that nation would not agree to any cession Spain might make of the states, which were *de facto* released from her dominion; announcing, that they were not far from recognising the independence of these states, although the period of the formal acknowledgment might be hastened or retarded, either by exterior circumstances, or that it depended upon the more or less satisfactory progress which each state made towards the establishment of a regular and suitable form of government.

Although shortly after the establishment of the present government, it was contemplated to send a diplomatic agent to Rome, this has not been done; and it has been thought sufficient to express to his Holiness, through the minister of state, the religious sentiments which animate this nation and its government.

If our political and commercial relations bring us in contact with the nations of Europe, some of which are our neighbours by means of their establishments on our continent and on the adjacent isles, more powerful motives unite us with the states lately formed in America. Having all the same origin, bound by the same interests, threatened with the same dangers, our destinies must be the same, and our efforts ought to be uniform. Convinced of this, the republic of Colombia sought to form a general confederacy, to be composed of all the states of what was formerly Spanish America. This plan was adopted by the republics of Peru and Chile, which concluded treaties with that of Colombia. The Honourable Miguel Santa Maria, minister plenipotentiary and envoy extraordinary from that republic, made the same proposals to the former government; but the particular circumstances which intervened, prevented their being carried into effect, and that minister left the capital. The change of government re-established with him the good understanding which had been interrupted by the former administration, and having returned to the capital, the negociations were renewed. The result has been the treaty, which I shall have the honour to lay before the sovereign Congress, for its

examination and approval. This will form the basis of the true family compact, which will unite all Americans for the defence of their liberty and independence, and for the encouragement of their commerce and mutual interests.

From the time Guatemala was united to what was called the Mexican empire, symptoms of dissatisfaction were manifested among the inhabitants of that ancient kingdom. The province of San Salvador resisted the union by force of arms, and although compelled to submit, was preparing to make another effort. The dissolution of the imperial government leaving these provinces for some time to themselves, gave them an opportunity to convoke a Congress which assembled in the capital, and declared the act of union null and void, and erected that country into a republic, under the title of the *United Provinces of the Centre of America.* By order of the government, the Mexican division under the orders of general Tilisola, which was destined to that territory, was withdrawn, but as yet, it has not been thought proper to recognise its independence. Since that time, the tranquillity of the interior has been somewhat disturbed, and symptoms of disunion have manifested themselves in the provinces: still, however, the Congress, and the government appointed by it, contrive to exercise the functions of their office.

The barbarous tribes which occupy our northern frontier, and frequently commit depredations, have been and still remain quiet; for although some movement was apprehended on the part of those of the province of Senora, and the *Apaches* had committed robberies and murders in the province of Chihuahua, the well concerted measures of the public authorities there have proved sufficient to put a stop to these evils. It is to be feared, however, that they will be repeated; for those tribes missing the presents which they were accustomed to receive, and which circumstances have prevented being made for some time past—and being aware of this miserable state of our frontier posts, will take advantage of this state of things, until the frontier line shall be re-established on a proper footing, and the militia of these provinces be organised into a respectable force. It is to be hoped, that with the progress of the settlements being brought into nearer contact with us, they may be civilized, and may adopt a more tranquil kind of life, and enjoying the advantages

held out by religion and society, they may become useful members of our nation.

INTERNAL RELATIONS.

The fortunate revolution, which, at the commencement of the present year, effected the change of government, gave rise to a variety of measures, all calculated to establish the existing government. The coronation of Don Augustin Iturbide being declared the work of force and violence, it remained only to carry into effect his departure from the territory of the nation. With this object, the necessary measures were taken for the security and convenience of his person; and on the 11th of May he embarked at Antigua, on board the ship Raulins, which was freighted for this purpose by government, and which sailed the same day under convoy of the English ship of war Tamar.

Fresh disturbances have since arisen, which, by their frequency, have compelled government to adopt some uniform plan with regard to them. The powers of the government not extending beyond observing themselves, and causing the constitution and existing laws to be observed by others, all their efforts should be directed to effect this object. But if it be necessary to deliver the nation from anarchy, which would lead it, amidst ruin and bloodshed, to despotism, as a necessary consequence, they ought to be no less cautious to preserve it from the evils which follow a civil war. With this view, all necessary steps have been taken to overcome the obstacles to the free election and speedy arrival of the deputies. Would to God that the wisdom of Congress may establish and consolidate union, without which there can be neither peace, nor liberty, nor independence!

Other dangers have threatened the public tranquillity. Some turbulent men, who aspire to build up their own fortunes on the ruins of the country, and who seek to promote their own interest in the general confusion, have used the means afforded them, by those who were attached to a man, who is now far from us—and those furnished by the remembrance of ancient rivalships, which the political changes ought to have buried in perpetual oblivion, in order to promote sedition, which would precipitate us into new misfortunes; as if tranquillity and repose were not essential to re-establish the public wealth, which

arises from that of individuals. The vigilance with which government has watched all their movements has disconcerted their plans, and their intentions once discovered, their attempts have been defeated. If in order to effect this, it has been found necessary to assume extraordinary powers, they have been exercised with circumspection, and have been limited to the prevention of evils, which otherwise appeared inevitable.

Such has been the conduct observed in the most difficult circumstances in which a government ever can be placed.

THE POLITICAL GOVERNMENT.

Political Chiefs.—The political government of the provinces entrusted by the Constitution to political chiefs, provincial deputations, and city councils, according to their respective duties, has, from the nature of things, experienced the same changes which the general system has suffered. The political and military command having been united under the former government—an attempt has been made to separate them according to the provisions of the constitution, and it has been effected in many of the provinces – and they remain united only in those where circumstances appeared to require it, by the peculiar situation which they were in, or from other causes.

PROVINCIAL DEPUTATIONS.

The plan of Casa Mata having been proclaimed, and the provinces having agreed to it, those deputations exceeded the limits which the Constitution prescribes, and they exercised for some time the functions of governing Juntas, performing in this character very important services: but as soon as the capital was free, and the sovereign Congress reinstated, things returned to their ordinary course, and those corporations reported to Congress the manner in which they had exercised those extraordinary powers: still, however, new political commotions occasioned new alterations. The declaration of some of the provinces for a federal form of Government, clothed their deputations with the character of provincial Congresses.

CITY COUNCILS.

In the exercise of the duties of city councils it is remarked, with pain, that there is an apathy, or neglect, which obstructs the progress of our political system, by interrupting one of the

principal wheels of the machine: the zeal and activity of the political chiefs have failed, in many instances, to excite these corporations to an exact discharge of their duties. This neglect has become remarkable, particularly in the collection of the direct taxes, which on this account have been reduced to almost an absolute nullity.

TRANSPORTATION.

This is one of the burdens most oppressive to the people, and is extremely injurious both to agriculture and commerce; falling most heavily upon the poor carriers, who supply the markets with the necessaries of life. Many complaints have been made, and the government, desirous, as they could not abolish altogether these abuses, to diminish them as much as possible, have fixed the quantity of transportation to be granted to individuals and troops which have a right to demand it.

NATIONAL MILITIA.

This, among other subjects relative to the government, is believed to be of the greatest importance. The supreme executive power, considering this with reason as the principal support of public order, and firmest guarantee of the national liberties, has adopted the most active measures for its prompt organization: however, all the advantages expected, have not resulted from them; and although in some parts, the enthusiasm of the citizens and the zeal of the public authorities, have overcome all obstacles, in others the desired result has not been obtained. The greatest difficulty arises from the want of arms, which government have sought to obtain from foreign countries, and which it expects to receive without delay. The table at the conclusion of this report will show, somewhat imperfectly, the present strength of the corps now organised.

PUBLIC SECURITY.

One of the principal benefits that this nation has to expect from this useful establishment, is to secure the internal tranquillity and the public safety, scandalously violated, not only on the public roads, and throughout the country, but even in the interior of the towns. An obstinate and bloody war, which for twelve years laid waste our country, and transformed the instruments of husbandry into instruments of death and de-

struction; the ruin of farms, and other inevitable consequences of domestic tumults—accustomed the inhabitants to violence and assassinations. It became necessary to redouble the vigilance of the magistrates, and increase the severity of the laws, in order, by re-establishing public order, to punish the criminal, and to protect the peaceable inhabitants. With this view, the law of the 29th of September was proposed, by which the delays were removed, and the number of judges increased: so that the guilty will now suffer the prompt punishment of his crime, which will be tried in the same district where it is committed, so as to produce a lively and impressive example of punishment.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

Statistics.—The basis of the political economy of government must be, an exact statistical account of the country. From the commencement of our independence, the Provisional Junta ordered the provincial deputations to collect the necessary information to form it. In consequence, many of the deputations drew out and sent to the city councils complete instructions, accompanied by tables, so that they might fill them up, and in that manner answer with facility the questions put to them. Notwithstanding this, the province of Valladolid alone has made them out, but they have not been yet received, No progress has been made in a matter on which depends the division of our territory, the equal distribution of taxes, the proportion of the national representation which belongs to each province, and the knowledge of our resources, and of our forces.

MUNICIPAL TAXES.

The administration and collection of these funds are the province of the city councils. The greatest disorder exists in relation to these funds: few of the councils have remitted their accounts to the provincial deputations, under various pretexts; but the real cause is to be found in the neglect and apathy with which many of these bodies discharge the beneficent objects of their institution.

In order to distribute these taxes equally, a plan was presented to Congress by the provisional deputation of this capital, together with a report of the government. It proposed to distribute the public lands to the inhabitants of the towns at a

moderate rent, and to establish the duties on markets and public diversions, and indicates other resources.

POST-OFFICE.

The Supreme Executive Power, convinced that the frequency and promptness of the communications would produce a more active movement in the commerce and national industry, took measures to re-establish the mails on the same footing in which they were before the year 1810, the course of which had been interrupted by circumstances. From that period, there was only one mail a week between Vera Cruz and the capital, which was a great deal too long on the road. Two have now been established, and the time shortened, from which considerable advantages have resulted, not only to commerce, but to the benefit of the revenue.

HEALTH.

Fortunately this branch will not occupy, for any length of time, the attention of Congress. We have experienced none of those desolating diseases, which, by their rapid contagion and frightful progress, threaten the destruction of one or of several provinces, frequently defeating the vigilance and measures of government, however active and rigorous they may be. If diseases with the character of epidemics have appeared, their malignant influence has been circumscribed to a small district, or has been promptly checked. The scarlet fever, which occasioned such distress the last year, ceased the beginning of this.

In the vast territory of a nation whose coasts on both seas extend from the torrid to the temperate zone, and where, by the structure of the land, an agreeable and moderate climate is constantly enjoyed between the tropics, the coast is subject to all the diseases common to warm climates, while the central provinces enjoy the most perfect health, so that we may distinguish the limits which, if I may be allowed the expression, separate life from death. A long experience proves, that those diseases do not pass a certain height above the level of the sea, and this knowledge prevents the necessity of the costly and inconvenient precautions which European nations frequently find themselves compelled to take, in order to cut off all communication between healthy and infected countries. During

the last year, the coast disease, known under the vulgar name of *black vomit*, appeared, as it always does, at the ordinary period, at Vera Cruz, and at other points on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and, as usual, was confined within the ordinary limits. It began to moderate as soon as the heat of the atmosphere was diminished by the rains and the approach of winter.

Many of the post-riders who descended from this capital to Vera Cruz, have fallen victims to this cruel disease, as have also the muleteers on the same road, to such an extent, that this commerce has been at times interrupted by that cause. To remedy the first, the post-master-general has provided, that the post-riders who leave this city shall not go beyond Jalapa; and for the second, it would be desirable that a company should be established, in order to have the goods transported from the coast to the cities, where the muleteers of the interior might receive them. In this way they would not be obliged to go into a country where their health is exposed to so much risk.

VACCINE.

There is a disease, the periodical repetition of which has continually proved an obstacle to the increase of our population, exercising its ravages especially on the labouring class, who inhabit the country, and who are so important to the progress of our agriculture. I speak of the small-pox. A happy accident placed in the hands of Jenner a certain preservative against this calamity, which, being brought here, has produced the best effects. It would seem that so precious an antidote would have been preserved every where, without the necessity of any interference on the part of government, since on it depend the health of all the people, the life and the beauty of their children and families. But unfortunately this has not been the case; and whether owing to an inexcusable neglect, or the necessary effect of a war of ten years, scarcely is this benefit enjoyed in this city, and in one or two other capitals of the provinces. Government was aware how urgent it was to propagate anew the vaccine pus, and have adopted the necessary measures to that effect.

BURIAL GROUNDS.

The orders which have been so repeatedly issued for the establishment of burial-grounds in all the towns, have not been

executed with the punctuality which the public health requires; the establishment of them has been opposed by the prejudices of the people and by private interests.

POLICE AND HEALTH.

All that can contribute to this object—the cleanliness of the towns and market places, the good quality of provisions and drinking water, their abundance, draining marshes, and other improvements in the police, must be the effect of the progress of civilization, of industry, and of the wealth of the nation, which may be all expected under the influence of a liberal system, and by the preservation of tranquillity and union.

CHARITY.

Hospitals.—The ruin of the fortunes of individuals, and the decline of the public revenue, have produced a reduction in the income arising from the capital, by which these establishments were, in a great measure, supported. The government has directed reports to be made respecting the state of the funds, and of the capital vested for pious uses. This information is necessary to enable the government to concert an effective plan, and which will not, like all others conceived without sufficient data, be purely ideal and fantastic. In the mean time, to regulate as far as possible, the administration of these funds, at least in this capital, where establishments are more numerous, it was resolved to form a Junta which might examine into the most urgent reforms, and order in the best manner these succours, which have become more necessary from the increased number of those who require them

MISSIONS.

The same causes which have produced the decline of the establishments of charity, have occasioned the ruin of the funds destined to missions, and the advancement of the Californias. They consist in capital, which is acknowledged to be due by the public treasury and the *consulado* of this city—the income of which is not paid—or in mortgages on private property, and which labours under the same difficulty—or in estates, which, from the events of the late war, would require large advances to render again productive; from all this it results that even

the synods of the missionaries, which have been due for many years, cannot now be paid. They have advanced considerable sums for the maintenance of the garrisons of the frontier posts, and the want of those sums has reduced them to the greatest misery. The government believes that the best method will be to sell the farms; if not possible to do so for cash, on a moderate credit.

With regard to the expenditure of these funds, if they should be realized, the government does not think it ought to be confined to the payment of the sums due to the synods of the missionaries. It is necessary to begin to view, with greater interest than has been hitherto done, the vast and fertile peninsula of the Californias; the rich commerce of which it must one day become the centre. The number and excellence of its agricultural products; the aid which it might yield towards the creation of a national marine; and the ambitious views upon it, which some foreign powers manifest, ought to fix the attention of Congress and of the government. If the system of missions may be considered the best adapted to rescue from barbarism the savages who inhabit the wilds, without any idea of religion, or of intellectual cultivation, still nothing is so conducive to a perfect state of society, as to bind them by the powerful ties of property. The government, then, is of opinion, that the distribution of lands to Indians, giving them from the funds of the missions such assistance as may be necessary to cultivate them—and the establishment of foreign colonists who might be Asiastics, would give a great impulse to that distant province.

The distance of this province may afford other advantages. We know the great advantages derived by the English from their establishments for transportation, and we might enjoy the same by transporting thither those criminals, who, without deserving capital punishment, ought to be banished for a longer or shorter time, from that society, which they have offended by their crimes. Conducted to those places, and under the constant inspection of proper authorities, they may be converted to be useful cultivators — good fathers, and finally good citizens. Besides these missions of California, there are others in a lamentable state of ruin, particularly those of the province of Texas, which are completely deserted and abandoned.

It may be stated, generally, that the establishments of charity have felt, more than all the others, the weight of the misfortunes of war, and their melancholy state ought to excite the charity of individuals, and to call the earliest attention of Congress.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Without education, liberty cannot exist; and the more diffused is the first, so much the more solidly cemented will be the latter; the intimate conviction of this truth induced the government, in the midst of all its pecuniary difficulties, to foster the establishments destined for this important object, by every means in its power.

PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

The Constitution entrusted the care of these to the city councils, which, for want of funds, have not been able to give them that perfect organization of which they are susceptible. There are many places where there are no primary schools, and in others, they are almost useless from the incapacity of the masters, arising from the lowness of the salaries; and almost every where is remarked, a culpable neglect on the part of the fathers, who forget the obligation imposed upon them by society and religion, to give their Children a christian education. The government has encouraged a society, founded in this capital, by some individuals zealous for the public good, for the purpose of establishing the system of mutual instruction, which has made such rapid progress in Great Britain, in the greatest part of Europe, and in the United States. With this object, a school has been established in a convent, capable of containing one thousand six-hundred children, who will be taught not only the first rudiments, but other branches of literature by the same method. Government would wish that on the model of this society, and in imitation of it, others may be established, and be in correspondence with it, so as to procure those succours which can be furnished by an establisament already formed, and which are less scarce in this capital, than in other cities of our territory.

COLLEGES AND PUBLIC LIBRARIES.

There exists, as in other provinces, several establishments of public instruction, universities, colleges, academies, libraries, and

other institutions for this object; but the same facts related, with regard to the charitable establishments, in a greater degree have affected these. The government has appointed a committee, composed of enlightened men, to examine the reports which have been demanded, and some of which have been received, upon the state of these establishments. This will enable government to adopt proper measures for their amelioration.

THE BOTANIC GARDEN

Has suffered even still more; the space was reduced, and many of the plants destroyed under the Spanish Viceroys; and the funds are barely sufficient for the instruction of the first rudiments of this beautiful and useful science. The government, persuaded that no country offers greater advantages than ours, for its flourishing establishment, have recommended to Congress, to appropriate the hospital of natives, for the purpose of a national museum, and school of medicine; and to plant out there, a garden, large enough for the purpose of instruction, and to set apart another piece of ground, which has been petitioned for by the city council of this capital, which, while it will be an ornament to the city, will contain a great variety of plants, which may be successively transplanted there.

THE ACADEMY OF FINE ARTS,

Of this capital, remains closed for want of funds; which, insuperable obstacles have prevented the government from possessing. The funds detained for this object were furnished by the public treasury, certain sums contributed by the tribunal of mines, consulado, and some city councils. Not more than two hundred dollars a month are now collected; scarcely sufficient to pay the individuals employed in the preservation of the works of art, which it contains. The government cannot do less, than recommend to the Sovereign Congress, the advancement of an establishment which has deserved the praise of enlightened travellers, who have made it known to Europe; and which contains in a collection of statues and designs, the wonderful works of Greek and Roman sculpture, and which have proved the fountain of the good taste of our nation, and in the preservation of which, the glory and the national prosperity appear to be interested.

ARCHIVES.

The disorder in which the papers were found, which belong to the secretary's office of the viceroy, produced a confusion, prejudicial to the business despatched at that office. It has been necessary to arrange, and index all the documents, which proves an arduous undertaking.

ANTIQUITIES.

The same disorders so frequently adverted to, have produced another evil, which it will be difficult to repair. There were in the archives of this office, some precious monuments of Mexican antiquities; and others, relating to the earliest period of the Spanish conquest—which were, in a great measure, due to the efforts of the enlightened and celebrated traveller Boturini. Several of them have disappeared altogether, and others are incomplete and torn. Those which remain have been collected with care, and an exact index has been made of them; and they, together with the designs and antiquities of the traveller Dupèe, (which it is intended to publish) and others that may be collected, are destined to form a department of the museum, or of the library which is to be established; and in which are to be brought together the manuscripts and curious works, which are now scattered in different archives, and libraries in the capital, without any advantage to the studious—who will then be able to read and examine them without difficulty. The same might be done in other cities, with great utility to the nation.

READING ROOMS.

In order to facilitate general instruction, by reading, and place before all, the acts of goverment, so that by being better known they may be more punctually executed; it has been ordered, that in every city hall, there should be a public reading room, to be furnished with all the laws, and other papers circulated by government, so that all persons may read and understand them; and the political chiefs have been directed to invite the inhabitants to contribute every month, small sums towards the support of these establishments, which might then subscribe for periodical papers, and other useful works, as has been already done in some cities.

INDUSTRY.

Mines.—It is a settled principle of political economy, that the most direct encouragement which can be given to agriculture and to industry, is to facilitate the consumption of its produce, and the sale of its fabrics. If mines are considered among us under this point of view, it will appear that nothing contributes so much as they do, to the prosperity of those essential branches of public wealth. The great number of labourers they employ, the horses and mules used to put in motion the machinery, and for the transportation of the ore, the consumption of grain, as well as of tallow, paper, iron, &c. give a powerful impulse to agriculture to the arts, and to commerce. If any proofs were wanting of these truths, they would be found by comparing the condition of our mining provinces, such as Guanaxuato and Zacatecas, before the year 1810, and at the present period: abundance and prosperity reigned then in both of these provinces. The farmer met at the mines, with a prompt and certain market for his produce; the blacksmith, the carpenter, the bricklayer, never failed to find constant employment for their industry—nor the merchant an extensive market for the goods he transported there; and the treasures extracted from the bowels of the earth, were diffused over the most distant provinces, in payment of tallow, wood, salt, lead ore, horses and mules, which were purchased in every part of the country. The nature of our ore is likewise a powerful cause of these happy results; generally poor in quality, but most abundant in quantity, they require, to work them, extensive machinery, and a vast number of ingredients; so that it may be said, that the miner does no more than create funds, to be divided lavishly among farmers, merchants, and workmen, from whence it is believed, that the prosperity of these men depends upon the mines, which, in our country, give the principal impulse to all other branches of industry.

From hence it is inferred, that the encouragement given to the former, fosters, indirectly, the latter; and if it is desired to give life to those branches, it is requisite to begin by promoting and encouraging the mines. These reasons occasioned the reduction of duties, which was granted by the Spanish Cortes, and confirmed by the provisional Junta; a reduction, which,

probably, preserved the mines at that period, and ought to contribute very much to their re-establishment.

We may flatter ourselves that we shall shortly see them in a flourishing state. Several strangers, with capital, are about to vest large funds in the draining and equipment of the principal mines, which, by the melancholy consequences of the war, are almost ruined, and without machinery. The steam engines which it is proposed to bring, and two, of which are now setting up, one in Temascaltepec, and the other at the mine of Catorce, will contribute essentially to this important result. The former Sovereign Congress for the purpose of facilitating contracts with wealthy foreigners, with whom some have already been made, abolished those laws which prohibited them from acquiring property in the mines; but wisely limiting that permission to those mines, which they may provide with machinery, and restore to activity, without the power of acquiring others, or of discovering new ones. This measure will prove a new stimulus, and will attract to this object, the necessary funds, which cannot be supplied by any other means.

The tribunal of mines, which, according to its institution, ought to serve as a bank, having a fund for this purpose derived from a duty of twelve and a half cents the mark, imposed upon silver, cannot now afford any assistance to miners, who so much require it; for, from causes which it would exceed the limits of this Report to expose, not only are there no funds, but a debt presses upon that body, the interest of which exceeds the amount of the duty.

ROADS.

If, to have a certain market, is necessary for the progress of agriculture, and the mechanic arts, a commodious transportation of produce, by roads passable at all seasons, is no less so. It may be said that we have three principal roads—that of Vera Cruz, Acapulco, and the Interior. The first commenced with great magnificence, by the Consulado of Vera Cruz, was finished in all the difficult passes from Vera Cruz to Perote, and from Puebla to the capital; the intermediate space between Puebla and Perote being tolerably good—that likewise by the route of the towns being in a state of forwardness. The war and consequent neglect have injured these works; some of the bridges

were broken in order to impede the march of armies, and the pavement taken up, and the torrents from the rains have washed the road into gullies. The low state of the fund destined to this object, has prevented the complete repair of these works. The present government has urged the Consulados to exert themselves as far as possible to mend these roads, which has been partially done; and the provincial deputation of Puebla has been directed to raise money, in order to complete the road over the Pinal, the most difficult part of the route from Perote to Puebla.

The road to Acapulco, so necessary from the important commercial relations, which must necessarily be formed with the ports of Asia, and towards which our attention is directed, in preference, by every consideration, is in a ruinous state; no repairs having been made on it from the commencement of the war of independence: there are many places impassable, even for mules. The deep and rapid river Papagayo, over which a bridge was to have been constructed, occasions every year distressing accidents to mules and travellers. The amount of toll collected on both roads has been diverted to other objects, and that which was received at Santa Ursula, was stopped entirely by the war. The government, aware of the importance of this road, turned their attention towards repairing it, and with this view, ordered the toll of both roads to be applied to this use, and directed the deputation to proceed to work on that part of the road which most required repair; leaving to a more favourable opportunity, the task of giving it a better and more commodious direction.

CANALS.

The only canal in this country, is the famous one of the drain of Huehuetoca. Its object is to give an outlet to the waters of the river Guautitlan, in order to prevent their flowing into the lake of Zumpango, which, in that case, discharged its waters into that of Christoval, and so into the lake of Tezcuco, from whence they inundated the capital.

In order to prevent the waters of some of the lakes from flowing into others, dykes were constructed to separate them, with the necessary floodgates to let off the water, when it accumulates in such quantity as to threaten the destruction of the

works. Subsequently, a partial canal was made, which carries off the waters of the lake of Zumpango to the great canal of Huehuetoca, and a direct drain or canal has been commenced, which, proceeding from the lake of Tezcuco, and traversing those of San Christoval and Zumpango, will lead the waters to the canal of Huehuetoca, which ought to be deepened, so as to reduce its level to that of the lake of Tezcuco. The war of Independence impeded the progress of these important works, and during this time they have suffered considerably. The estates which, by law, ought to furnish labourers, to clear out the river Guautitlan, in repayment of the advantages they derive from the use of the water, have not performed that duty, and the bed of the river is now much higher than the country through which it flows. The rains have washed down such large masses of earth from the banks of the canal of Huehuetoca, that some of them, for the space of sixty yards long and ten high, dam up the current, driving the water against the sides, which in consequence cave in. The dyke of Zumpango, originally weaker than it ought to have been, is dilapidated in its whole extent and its floodgates much injured. The canal through which the waters of this lake flow into the great canal, produces sometimes, from the destruction of its floodgates, an effect contrary to the intent for which it was contrived—since in the great freshets of the Guautitlan, the waters of this river open a way by the canal, and enter into the aforesaid lake; and finally, every thing makes us dread that a work, which cost more than six millions of dollars, more than a century of labour, and the lives of so many hapless victims, will be rendered useless, unless proper measures are taken immediately for its repair and preservation.

Since the year 1814, the Cortes of Spain decreed the opening of the Canal, which was to unite the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, by means of the river Guasacualo and Chimalapa, charging the Consulado of Guadalaxara with the execution of this great enterprise, which is destined to give a new direction to the commerce of the world. Some of the deputies, convinced that it would be impracticable for that corporation to accomplish this work, under present circumstances, proposed in 1821, that in order to execute it with dispatch, foreigners should be invited to vest their capital in it. The fortunate change effected in our political condition, has facilitated this project. Proposals

have been made to government, by foreign houses, to execute this work, which, in due season, will be submitted to Congress By means of this canal, and the settlement of the fertile lands of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, this will become the centre of commerce and one of our most useful and wealthy provinces.

COMMERCE.

The South Sea ought to call our attention towards another subject of great importance. The whale fisheries, which are almost entirely carried on upon our coast, and attract there a multitude of English and Americans of the United States, who make the tour of the world in order to exercise this branch of industry, which we neglect, although at our doors. The privileges granted by the Spanish government to those who undertook it, have not proved sufficient to excite the interest of the inhabitants of this country; and it appears that a fresh stimulus is necessary, to give rise to this profitable business, among us. Perhaps the most proper plan would be to grant to foreign vessels, which might fit out on our coasts with this object, the same privileges, which are granted without effect to the native citizens.

INTERNAL COMMERCE,

Which is that most conductive to the prosperity of a nation, cannot be re-established with promptness, nor flourish, whilst the public opinion remains unsettled, and the public roads insecure, nor until new capital shall be brought to replace that which has been destroyed. In the few days of calm, which followed the change of government, some movement in the commerce of our country was remarked; but the disturbances which soon arose, again put a stop to it.

MANUFACTURES

Follow always the fortune of commerce, and when the latter is in a declining state, the former cannot be thriving. Our manufactures not being able to enter into competion with the more perfect fabrics of Europe, it requires a well regulated tariff, to place them on an equal footing; and the introduction of those machines and engines, which cause that superiority, so as to make it disappear, by providing us with the same means of

perfecting our own manufactures. The exemption of duties on the importation of machines, will contribute to multiply them, some being already established in Puebla for spinning cotton. In the neighbourhood of this capital, an individual intends to establish a paper mill: a manufacture of great importance to the country.

AGRICULTURE.

Our agriculture begins to extend itself to objects of cultivation, which are important to our balance of trade. Coffee, which composes the wealth of the West India islands, has been planted with success in the south, where there are already large coffee plantations. This article ought to be so much the more productive, as, from the inestimable advantage of cultivating it by few labourerers, it can be sold cheaper than in the islands, where a large capital is required for the purchase of slaves. A considerable number of cacao trees have been planted, and some individuals are about to sow flax and hemp, which grow very well in our soil, as likewise do mulberry trees. Among other advantages which will be derived, is that of having articles of exportation, which will form return cargoes, for vessels from Europe, that now return empty, to dispose of the product of their sales in other places.

In a country which enjoys every temperature, and which is susceptible of bringing forth productions of every sort, the attempt ought to be made to acclimatise all foreign plants and animals, which may be useful for our purposes at home, or to form articles of our commerce. Although, for this purpose, it would be useful to establish gardens on the confines of the hot and cold regions, and near the sea, similar to those formed by the French and Spanish governments at Martinique and San Lucar; yet the state of our treasury does not allow us to go to the necessary expense—for to be useful, these establishments ought to be vast. Still the same effects may be expected from the efforts of individuals, when united together in patriotic societies, which have proved so useful in other countries, and even in our own, afford a proof in that founded in Guatemala, of what they may be, when properly organised, and well conducted. During the existence of the imperial government, a patriotic society was formed in the capital: and another projected in Chiapa. It

may now be recommended to them, to cultivate the vine and mulberry, and to introduce camels, which would be so useful for the purposes of transportation, especially in some of the provinces, where, owing to bad roads and want of water, great difficulties are encountered by droves of mules.

One of the subjects which has principally occupied the attention of government, is the improvement and distribution of vacant lands. The almost magic transformation of lands of this description, in some of the states north of us, where deserts exposed to the invasions of barbarous tribes, have, in a few years, presented the appearance of thickly settled, and flourishing provinces, ought to excite us to give to our country similar advantages. A great part of the internal provinces, both east and west, the Californias, and many other places on our coast, offer to agriculturalists extensive tracts of fertile land, which need only to be worked by the hand of industry to yield every kind of produce, and to afford to commerce precious articles of consumption and exportation. There were many claims of individuals for lands in these provinces; and there was likewise a decree of the former Junta regulating their distribution, but this appeared so defective, that even if it had been legal, it would have been considered impracticable. In May last, a project was presented to Congress, in which, while attending to the advantages which our treasury might derive from them, in the same manner as the United States does, from the same source, facilities would be afforded to colonize, speedily, these provinces, many of which, from their situation, claimed the earliest attention of Congress, and of the government. This resolution is still pending, although very necessary; for in the mean time, a great many settlements are made by foreigners on those lands without order, and without the nation deriving any benefit from them. The civilization of the Indians, and the security of our frontiers, which would be freed from their incursions by an increase of inhabitants, are among the probable advantages of this measure.

The exposition which I have had the honour to make to the Sovereign Congress, may furnish subjects for its enlightened deliberations. If it is not entirely satisfactory—if the present state of the country presents nothing flattering, it is reserved for your wisdom to remedy these numerous evils—to cut off

the heads of the Hydra of the revolution, which are renewed, and rise up in various parts of the country—to re-establish peace and public confidence—to give new life to industry and commerce—to revive agriculture—and to cause the nation to enjoy all those blessings which liberty and independence bestow. Such are the great objects which are about to occupy Congress; such are the salutary effects which the nation expects from its meeting.

If the ideas I have offered, and the reforms I have proposed, deserve to fix the attention of Congress, greater extension may be given them, uniting more information, so as to enable it to form a correct decision upon them.

Mexico, November 1st, 1823.
Third year of Independence, and Second of Liberty.

LUCAS ALAMAN.

[APPENDIX.]

Since this Report was written, news has been received from the province of New Mexico, of hostilities having been committed by the savage tribes which infest that territory, and which keep it constantly in arms. Some fears have likewise been entertained of similar movements in the province of Chihuahua. In both cases, such measures have been adopted as circumstances permitted.

The political chief of Tlascala has communicated the information of a contagious disease, which has for some time past afflicted that city, and of the measures taken to prevent it from spreading.

The same officer in Puebla, informs us, that the pest which had appeared in the town of Chancingo, has acquired new force from the change of season, which has obliged him to resort to other means to stop it, and to take the necessary steps to prevent its being communicated to the neighbouring towns. In Vera Cruz, owing to the precipitate retreat of the inhabitants, on account of the bombardment, and from the number of troops, an epidemic fever has been experienced there, differing from the black vomit, and not so dangerous. It is probable that a change of season will put a stop to all these diseases.

The successful efforts made to establish a prompt and direct communication from Sonora in California, deserves mention. A journey was undertaken by Padre Felix Cabellero, from the missionary settlement of Santa Catalina, in lower California, on the 14th of April last, who, traversing the deserts inhabited by the wandering tribes of the Pemas, Yumas and other Indians, by whom he was kindly received and well treated, arrived in twelve days at the frontier post of Tucson, in Sonora, and reached Aripze the end of May. The fortunate result of this long and dangerous journey, induced Colonel Don Antonia Narlona, Political Chief and Military Commandant of Sonora, to send a small detachment of troops under the orders of Captain Don Jose Romero, accompanied by the same Padre Cabellero, for the purpose of better exploring the country, and in that way rendering the route to California secure; which, among other advantages to commerce, would enable the post-rider from this capital, to reach that peninsula in forty days, instead of the very long time now employed in that journey. The expedition set out accordingly, from the port of Tucson, on the 8th of June. It was well received by the several tribes which it met with on its march, and that of the Cuamayas appeared particularly friendly; but in passing the river Gila, on rafts, constructed by them, they profited by the opportunity to rob the troops of their horses, ammunition, provisions, and cloathing, leaving them on two rafts in the middle of the river. On reaching the bank, notwithstanding they were naked and without any thing but their arms and cartouch boxes, by the aid of some other Indians who took compassion on them, they pursued their march, and arrived at Santa Catalina on the 6th of July. Colonel Narlona being informed of the result of this expedition, proposed to undertake another, and for that purpose has issued the necessary orders and instructions.

Mexico, 7th November, 1823.
Third of Independence and Second of Liberty.

LUCAS ALAMAN.

TABLE OF THE NATIONAL MILITIA.

PROVINCES.	CITIES AND TOWNS.	INFANTRY				CAVALRY.			
		Regiments.	Battalions.	Companies	No. of troops.	Regiments.	Squadrons.	Companies	No. of troops.
Durango	Durango			3					
Guanaxuato	San Miguel el Grande	1	3		1,500				
San Luis Potosi	In the Capital			1					
Mexico	Do.	1	2	11	902		1	3½	186
Do.	Coyoacan			3					
Do.	Xochimilco			1					
Do.	Guadaloupe			1					
Do.	Acapulco			2	180				
Of the Interior	Monterey			2					
Puebla	In the Capital			1				2	
Queretaro	Do			1					
Do.	San Juan del Rio			2				1	
Do.	San Pedro de la Canada			2	140			1	
Tabasco	Villa Hermosa		1	6	551				
Tlascala	In the Capital			1	100				
Do.	Santa Ana Chautempan			1	100				
Do.	Tlaxco								
Do.	San Barnardino			½	40			1	100
Do.	Tetlatlahuca								
Valladolid	In the Capital	1	2	10	1,000			1	55
Vera Cruz	Orizava		1	3	300				
New Mexico	Partido de la Capital		1	7	448			6	384
Do.	Id. de Alburquerque		1	6	384			7	448
Do.	Id. de la Canada		1	6	384			7	448
Totals		3	12	71	6,029		1	29½	1,621

This statement is very defective, owing to the want of returns from the provinces. In the province of Guadalajara there are 15,000 organized militia. They are not included here, because accurate information could not be obtained in time of the places where they are stationed, nor of the state of their armament.

No. 5.

ABSTRACT OF A REPORT,

Made to the Mexican Congress in November, 1823, by the Minister of the Treasury, Don Francisco Arillaga.

The minister prefaces his report by some general remarks on the impossibility of administering the finances of the country, according to the theories of speculative writers. He says, that notwithstanding these abstract speculations, all nations are compelled to preserve the following, as profitable and necessary branches of revenue. Imposts on importation, indirect taxes, land taxes, revenue tax, an excise on the products of industry, and even on wages.

The decree on the 27th June, 1822, exacted from the people a contribution, equivalent to the clear profits of the labour of each individual, for the term of three days. Experience has shown that a financial measure of this description, will not produce one-hundredth part the amount anticipated.

The present system is complicated and expensive; the greatest disorder exists in the collection and disbursements: government cannot even obtain information respecting the financial situation of the provinces. That on which the present report is founded, is extremely defective, and approximates only to the truth; it is, however, such as the minister was able to collect in the midst of the complete disorder that reigns in every branch of the financial administration.

The minister recommends the following measures:—First, he proposes to Congress to create a national treasury office; a court of accounts, corresponding to the office of auditor, and a general direction of finances: the court of accounts to be formed on the model of that which existed in Spain under the decree of Cortes, of the 17th August, 1813.

The general direction to superintend all financial operations, and to propose and direct to a certain extent such coercive measures as may be necessary for the ollection of taxes; to

examine into abuses and to controul the treasury department, to be organized on the basis of the decree of Cortes, of the 12th April, 1812.

The minister then goes on to say, that before making any statement of the resources left the nation, and now available, he proposes to give a brief account of the state of the treasury, at the end of March last, when they fortunately succeeded in shaking off the iron yoke of the intrusive emperor.

He refers to the report of his predecessor Medina, for the deplorable state of the treasury at that time. From this exposé, it appears that the state of the treasury is most wretched, and its administration in the greatest disorder. All the public rents exhausted—all the deposists swept off—forced loans upon commerce pushed to excess : the revenue arising from tithes, and other taxes, pledged to the amount of many hundred thousand of dollars, both by being anticipated ; and the loan of 1,920,000 dollars, exacted from the cathedral, one quarter of the amount of which was received : public credit destroyed by the improper seizure of the convoys of money belonging to private individuals ; the foolish bargain made with an adventurer, together with new forced loans, and excessive and ruinous contributions, the issue of paper money which depreciated 75 per cent. These proceedings, all of them unjust and impolitic, destroyed credit and public confidence, and drove from the country capital and capitalists, leaving us without resources, and with scarcely a hope of a remedy. It appears from the declaration of Medina, on the 24th of March last, that the sale of 300,000 dollars' worth of manufactured tobacco, was the only resource left the treasury, to satisfy the numerous demands of government upon it. The funds left by the Spanish government in the mint, to the amount of 1,099,392 dollars, have been used, as likewise 25,000 dollars belonging to the mine of Pachuca, which has reduced it to extreme distress. And although according to Medina's report, there remained on the 31st of March in the mint, a sum of 836,957 dollars, 500,000 were due, and of 336,957 dollars remaining, when according to a decree, one-half was exacted for the use of the government, only 60,435 dollars could be obtained ; and the only money now in the mint, amounts to 179,556 dollars, a sum not more than sufficient to purchase metals, and defray other necessary expenses of the establish-

ment. The debt contracted from the 24th of February, 1821, to the end of March last, amounts to 5,936,560 dollars.

This melancholy and alarming picture induced the minister to represent the state of the finances in the manner he did in his memoir of the 2d June. The present executive has used every means to redeem the nation from this critical and deplorable state. They adopted a totally different system—they suspended entirely the forced loans and heavy contributions about to be exacted—stopped the emission of paper money, and adopted the most rigid economy in every branch of the administration; giving themselves an example of simplicity and frugality. The most beneficial consequences have resulted from this conduct: but the prosperity of the country is retarded by the dissensions that exist in the provinces. It cannot be said that for the last six months any one has been compelled to loan money; nor have any heavy burthens been laid upon the people. If the merchants have generously and gratuitously furnished the government with funds, they have been compensated by receiving a tenth of the product of the customs; and of 52,357 dollars received in the months of April and June, they have been paid 36,143 dollars; and the debt will be entirely discharged this month. The paper money has been in part reduced by receiving a sixth part in payment of duties; so that the dollar which was not worth more than twenty-five cents, is now worth seventy-five—a certain sign of the state of public credit.

From the 1st of April to the end of last September, the receipts of the Treasury were, ...	$1,213,513	3	8
Disbursements in the same period, . . .	1,200,681	6	8
Due on the civil and military lists, ...	12,831	5	0
	305,927	7	1
Debts, . . .	293,096	2	1
Payments made to redeem the paper medium within the same epoch, were	732,168	1	10
	439,071	7	9
Money received from Mr. B. Vigors Richards on account of a loan, ...	88,009	5	3
	351,062	2	6
Debt contracted in the preceding 25 months,	$5,936,559	7	6

The first branch of revenue treated of by the minister is that of tobacco. He reasons at great length on the necessity of preserving this monopoly, quoting the example of France and the Republic of Colombia. He declares that this can never become an article of export from Mexico, on account of the low prices of the tobacco of Virginia, Maryland and Louisiana, and the great superiority of that of Cuba. The monopoly of tobacco has produced in Mexico a net revenue of more than four millions of dollars.

It would be wrong, he says, to call this monopoly the work of despotism. In Spain it was established by the Cortes, in 1636 and 1650, and in France by the Parliament—and he refers, as a precedent, to the restrictions established in Great Britain on distilled spirits. He believes that the government might still give to the cultivator a profit of forty or fifty per cent. The expenses of this branch of the administration amounts to 251,620 dollars. He infers that by re-establishing the monopoly so as to appropriate exclusively all the leaf tobacco to the manufactures of government, it would yield, at least, from two and a half to three millions of dollars after deducting the expenses.

Stamps.—The minister estimates the amount of this branch of the revenue at 300,000 dollars.

Imposts on Imports and Exports.—The minister appears to be in favour of a prohibitory system; he thinks that the industry of the country cannot prosper without restrictions of foreign importations; but believes that the articles of merchandise are incorrectly classed in the present tariff, and that the duty on tonnage is excessive. Although the duty of 25 per cent. on imports, appears to him to be a fair rate, since Spain exacts 50 per cent. and the government of the United States from 15 to 30 per cent. and on some articles a prohibitory duty, he proposes however to reduce the duties on imports, to 22 or 23 per cent. including the consulate duty which has hitherto been levied over and above the 25 per cent.

From the first of April to September, 1823, the revenue from this branch amounted to 971,345 dollars, an increase above that of the last year, for a like period of time, of 177,1884 dollars.

The minister recommends that the export duties on all the tithes be remitted; on coffee, cacao, cotton of the first quality,

olive oil, wool, sugar and molasses, and flour, together with some other articles which he proposes hereafter to specify; and he further recommends to regulate the collection of duties on the model of those of the United States.

Alcabalas.—This duty, worthy of its barbarous origin is, in the opinion of the minister, a most onerous and prejudicial tax upon agriculture, industry, and consumption—which, while it taxes oppressively all the products and the internal commerce of the country, even to the air we breathe, yields but little to the treasury—is ruinous in its operation, and requires for its most complicated, obscure, and vicious administration, a legion of officers who consume the greatest part of the product of the tax, and prey upon the substance of the useful labourer.

The receipts for the last six months were . . . ,	$1,482,820
Deduct what is paid on the imported articles sent into the interior, ...	899,922
Product of the alcabalas on the produce of the country, ...	582,898
Expenses of Administration, ...	176,306
Net produce of this tax, ...	$406,592

The minister says, that although it is necessary to abolish this odious tax, still prudence and circumspection require, in order that the treasury might not, in its present exigency, be deprived of this resource, to proceed cautiously in the great reforms which are called for, by a due regard for the good and prosperity of the people. He proposes some other means to supply the deficit, which will result from the abolition of this tax.

Imposts on Pulque and other Liquors.—This Excise is one of the most productive, least oppressive, and best adapted to the habits of the people of the country. He proposes, however, a moderate reduction, and some modification of this tax. In the capital, before the duty was raised, it produced 660,649 dollars, and the year 1822 the product was only 203,939 dollars, making a deficit of 402,709 dollars. The duty on foreign brandies is forty per cent.—on wines thirty-five per cent. and the same amount is paid on their being sent into the interior. He believes this to be sufficient, but its high amount offers so great a temptation to smuggling, that a great proportion of the liquors con-

sumed in the country are introduced fraudulently; he recommends the establishment of a force in the passages of the Cordillera, as necessary to check this abuse. The excise of twenty per cent. on the rum of the country, he thinks high enough, but recommends so to modify it, as to levy three dollars a barrel on low proof, and five dollars on high proof spirits. On the *vino mezcal*, a brandy distilled from the juice of the agave, the same duty is to be paid. He proposes to exact a further duty of three dollars a barrel upon the *sale* of all distilled liquors, and of two dollars on that of wine. These duties on liquors appear high, but they will enable government to dispense with the duties on agriculture, and articles of first necessity, and on internal commerce, by the abolition of the alcabalas. By reducing the system of finance to imports on a few articles, and those of luxury, and to duties on imports and exports, he thinks to attain the most simple and the best system of finance.

He proposes an excise of fifty cents upon each head of black cattle that is slaughtered, and twenty-five cents for each sheep; twelve and a half on kids, and fifty cents on each hog. This additional duty added to that on liquors, will, he calculates, give an augmentation of revenue of nearly one million of dollars.

Duties on Gold and Silver.—This branch is diminished in proportion to the depressed state of the mine. The tenth which these metals paid was reduced by a decree of the Junta, of the 13th February, 1822, to three per cent. He promises great results from the introduction of steam engines by foreign capitalists, and from the interest they have taken in working the mines.

The Mint.—The expenses of coinage were reduced to the actual cost by the decree of 13th February, 1822; and being without funds to make the customary advances to the miners for the bars of silver, as they are deposited at the mint, but little money is now coined, as the owners export the precious metals in bars and ingots. The establishment is still kept up on its former expensive footing, and the loss to government during the last six months amounted to 21,835 dollars. He proposes to lessen the expense, and to provide a fund to pay a moderate advance to the

Post Office, and Lotteries.—He proposes to unite these two departments under one head, which will very much diminish the expenses of both.

Public Credit.— It appears from various reports of a Junta, appointed to inquire into the state of the public debt, that Medina had exaggerated when he stated it to amount to 76,286,499 dollars. He ought to have deducted from this sum 26,915,756 dollars, due to Spain, and from which obligation they were freed by the emancipation of Mexico; and Arillaja makes a further deduction of 8,645,219 dollars—reducing the national debt to 46,110,112 dollars; from this he deducts the sum of 1,395,549 dollars, being an amount due to the Consulado by the treasury, which will leave a balance of 44,714,563 dollars.

He deprecates the conduct of the former government in seizing, arbitrarily, upon public and private property. He proposes to divide the public debt into two classes—one bearing interest, and the other not. As a proof of the rising credit of the nation, he states, that the paper dollar which was as low as twenty-five cents, is now worth seventy-five cents.

The sale of the property of the Inquisition, and that formerly of the Jesuits, has not been effected, although government offered to sell on a credit of one-half the amount of the purchase. Their value, exclusive of the public edifice belonging to the Inquisition in the capital, is estimated at 2,405,645 dollars. He thinks they might be sold on credit, or by exacting only 25 per cent. cash. Their sale would give an impulse to public confidence, and convert these estates into private property, which would be more productive to the nation.

Foreign Loans.—According to a decree of the sovereign government, a loan has been contracted for, with the house of Barclay, Herring, & Co. in London, to the amount of 20,000,000 of dollars. The terms of the contract, signed in August, have been already laid before Congress.

The receipts of the Treasury for the last six months amount to $6,418,814

The disbursements were as follows:

Expenses of the monopolies of tobacco and gunpowder, and of the mint .	$2,893,403	
Expenses of all the other departments	2,697,630	
Total expenditure for six months . .	5,591,033	
Contingencies	827,781	
		$6,418,881

Receipts for one year	$12,837,628
Proposed augmentation:—	
On tobacco	648,836
On stamps	268,135
On imports and exports	500,000
On excise on pulque, and other liquors, and on meats	1,000,000
	$15,254,599
Expenses:—	
Foreign affairs	360,878
Administration of Justice	159,023
Treasury	3,351,485
Army	9,922,782
Navy	473,014
	$14,267,182

Detailed Statement of the Receipts into the Treasury during six months, from April to September, 1823.

	Gross Amount.	Expenses.	Net Product.	Deficit.
Duties on gold & silver,	131,933 0 3	661 5 7	131,331 2 8	
On Assaying	13,171 2 2	11,546 7 8	1,624 2 6	
Mint	79,347 0 4	101,182 5 8		
Sweepings of the Mint	60,435 0 0		60,435 0 0	21,835 5 4
Alcabalas on Home Products	1,482,820 5 10	224,586 7 2	1,258,233 6 8	
on Foreign	971,345 6 2		971,345 6 2	
Excise of Pulque	86,853 1 0	9,467 6 3	77,502 7 11	
Monopoly of Tobacco	1,429,869 5 3	504,287 7 0	925,581 6 3	
Post-Office	114,852 2 1	91,437 4 6	23,414 5 7	
Lotteries	40,530 7 10	12,580 4 7	27,950 3 3	
Snow, *since abolished*	7,755 6 7		7,755 6 7	
Cockpits	5,365 5 2		5,365 5 2	
Stamps, (these have been extended to all Commercial Transactions)	16,308 7 2	376 6 0	15,932 1 2	
Pulperias, retailers of Spirits	4,681 5 9		4,681 5 9	
Salt Works	26,277 3 0	133 2 8	26,143 7 4	
Secular Media Annata	1,896 1 5	1,522 0 0	374 1 5	
Foreign Tonnage Duty	62,900 7 9		62,900 7 9	
Forfeitures	154 5 0		154 5 0	
Pulque Brandy	7,223 3 6	764 4 4	6,458 7 2	
Rum	27,153 5 6		27,153 5 6	
Lands	2,492 5 6		2,492 5 6	
Ecclesiastical Annuities	432 3 0		432 3 0	
Do. Monthly	576 4 0		576 4 0	
Novenos	56,066 1 8		56,066 1 8	
Vacancies	5,678 4 0	1,250 0 0	4,423 4 0	
Tithes	28,324 5 1	5,775 2 0	22,549 3 1	
	4,664,448 1 0	965,513 7 5	3,720,887 3 1	21,835 5 4

	Gross Amount.	Expenses.	Net Product.	Deficit.
Brought over,	4,664,448 1 0	965,513 7 5	3,720,887 3 1	21,835 5 4
Bulls of indulgencies,	11,262 7 6	18,26 6 6	16,836 1 0	
Sales,	681 2 7		681 2 7	
Bienes Mostrencos,	1,479 0 6		1,479 0 6	
Licenses,	12 4 3		12 4 3	
Direct Tax,	26,141 7 4	159 6 5	25,982 0 11	
Forced Contributions,	49,167 7 0		49,167 7 0	
Fees on Documents,	633 2 9		633 2 9	
Exchange of Silver,	2,653 3 3	1,620 0 0	1,033 3 3	
Warehouses,	868 5 0	1,433 6 6		565 1 8
Seizures of smuggled Goods,	5,490 4 4	1,548 4 6	3,941 7 10	
Emoluments of Office,	19 4 0		19 4 0	
Balances of Accounts,	584 2 4	155 0 0	429 2 4	
Loans,	376,326 2 6	104,773 1 9	271,553 0 9	
Supplementary Do.	215,604 1 5	26,528 2 0	189,075 7 5	
Deposits,	454,136 1 10	298,558 1 5	155,578 0 5	
Treasury,	184,787 7 1	130,361 1 10	54,426 5 3	
Provincial Treasuries,	99,664 1 10	531,788 4 1		432,124 2 3
On Account,	129,625 6 0	719,073 5 1		589,447 7 1
Freight,	121 7 6		121 7 6	
Reintegros,	299 6 2		299 6 2	
Arsenal,	12 0 0		12 0 0	
Drain,	3,177 7 11		3,177 7 11	
Half a real, (Hospital Money)	1,029 0 0	264 6 9	764 1 3	
Invalids,	3,607 2 9	23,437 6 7		19,830 3 10
Military, *Montepio*,	2,579 3 8	22,779 1 10		20,199 6 2
Surgeons, Do.	64 5	113 4 6		48 6 3
Property of the Jesuits,	4,641 0 9	950 0 4	3,691 6 2	
Do. of the Inquisition,	5,141 6 0		5,141 6 0	
Contribution for Widows,	4,277 0 0		4,277 0 0	
Various Branches,	21,008 7 8	12,321 0 6	8,687 7 2	41,915 6 7
Hospitals,	7,473 3 11	49,389 2 6		
Auxiliary Tax,	17,907 4 3	72 0 0	17,835 4 3	
Donations,	28,873 7 8	1,252 2 6	27,621 5 2	
Loan of 20 Millions,	88,009 5 3		88,009 5 3	
Total,	6,418,814 3 6	2,893,403 4 6	4,651,378 6 2	1,125,967 7 2

Amount of the net product,	4,651,378 6 2
Deduct the deficit,	1,125,967 7 2
Balance,	3,525,410 7 0

Statement of Expences.

Pay and expenses of the army,	1,957,377	2	8
Do. Do. of the artillery,	58,997	1	0
Do. Do. of the navy,	144,717	5	1
Salaries of the officers of the treasury and judiciary,	216,893	2	11
General expenses of the treasury,	49,000	6	8
Do. Do. extra of treasury and army,	69,036	1	9
Pensions,	21,504	1	4
Frontier posts, and expenses of the Apaches Indians,	119,850	7	10
Sinods and missions,	29,347	3	3
Interest on debt,	333	2	3
Daily pay of the deputies in Congress,	23,056	0	0
Salaries of the secretaries of that body.	3,233	2	8
Expenses of engrossing, &c.	4,284	1	2
	2,697,631	6	7
Amount of receipts,	3,525,410	7	0
Do. of disbursements,	2,697,631	0	7
Balance,	827,779	0	5

COMMERCIAL RECORD.

THE following statements have been furnished by a gentleman who spent some months in Mexico, and were made during his residence in that capital. They are published with a view to show the nature of the articles best fitted for the Mexican market, and also to prove in some measure, that notwithstanding the high prices at which goods may sell there, the duties, transportation, &c. must necessarily deprive the adventurer of a small proportion of his profits.

Statement 1.—Is a note, furnished by one of the most respectable and worthy Spanish merchants, residing at Mexico.

Statement 2.—Memoranda taken by an American gentleman, of the mode of transacting business, expenses of transportation, state of the markets, &c.

Statement 3.—Additional memoranda, by the same, of goods suitable for the City of Mexico.

Note of Merchandise suitable for the Mexican market, furnished by a very respectable Spanish merchant, at Mexico, July, 1822, *for the government of American merchants then at Mexico.*

Quicksilver.—This article should be imported in iron flasks, or cases, each containing 3 arrobas, or 75 lbs., so that four, weighing 300 lbs. net, with the iron cases, will make a load for a mule.

This article pays no duty, and consequently may command at Tampico, or Vera Cruz, from 55 to 60 dollars per quintal. By sending it, however, to Mexico, or St. Luis Potosi, it will most usually bring from 85 to 90 dollars per quintal: the carriage will be at the rate of, from 13 to 15 dollars per every 300 lbs. or mule load.

Cocoa.—Maracaibo, of good quality, and also Caracas, are much wanting. The former is worth, from 80 to 84 dollars per

fanegan, or 96 lbs.; the latter, from 85 to 90 dollars per 110 lbs. This article is subject to an import duty, also a duty of $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ad valorem, at the City of Mexico, and a duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to the muleteer.

Care must be taken, that the cocoa be put in suitable bags, made of strong coarse linen; each bag containing from 175 to 185 lbs. and bound with strong cords, so as to prevent the nuts from shaking, as the breaking of the shells will materially injure the sale.

Cotton goods.—Calicoes are always in demand, provided the patterns are well selected. Those with narrow stripes and exquisite and lively colours are preferred. The large flowery patterns will not suit at all. Those most in demand, are black grounds, with small white flowers between the stripes.

Jeans stamped, and plain, of good quality, will suit.

Handkerchiefs of red, and lively colours, good quality, do.

Cotton Hosiery for women, plain, also with open clocks.

Men's cotton stockings, also, are wanting; some plain, and some ribbed; the stripes must be small. The hosiery should be very fine, as the duty is the same on all qualities, and the best are in the highest estimation, and command the best price.

Platillas.—From Hamburg, if superfine, will bring at this time, though there are plenty in market, from 22 to 24 dollars.

Woollens.—Are a bad article. Cloths may command from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to 10 dollars, and good Cassimeres, (blacks) from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 dollars, but the inferior will not sell.

Shawls.—Cotton $\frac{8}{4}$; grounds black, green, azure, and dark blue: borders, from 4 to 6 inches deep, with flowers in the corners, and plain in the centre.

Umbrellas.—A few cases may answer, of assorted colours. Two-thirds red, one-sixth green, and one-sixth blue. They must be 30 or 32 inches of the Spanish yard, made of double taffeta, and the colours fast. Parasols are never used by the Mexican ladies.

Cinnamon.—From Ceylon, of good quality, will answer. It is worth from 7 to $7\frac{1}{2}$ dollars per lb. when it is really fine, and the best is the most profitable.

Creas.—Of superior quality, each piece containing 70 varas, will generally bring from $\frac{62}{100}$ to $\frac{70}{100}$ per vara.

N.B. Platillas should be put up neatly, in the Cadiz mode

and in cases containing 25 pieces. Calicoes, well pressed, in cases containing 50 pieces. Creas, in cases containing 10 pieces.

Memoranda taken by an American at Mexico, July 10, 1822.

The duties payable at present is equal to 27½ per cent on a suppositious value. On some goods it amounts to 80 per cent. on cost. Calicoes, worth in the United States 5 dollars to 5½ dollars per piece, were valued at Tampico at 15 dollars; though they would not sell for more than 12 dollars at the same time.

Goods sent to Mexico pay an additional duty of 10½ per cent. on a value fixed there. In the intermediate towns the internal duty varies. In some it does not exceed four per cent. on the actual sales.

Internal duty on the transit of coined metals is two per cent.

Gold and silver in bars cannot be exported.

Carriage of goods from Tampico to Mexico, $1 25 to $2 50 per twenty-five pounds.

Carriage of goods from Vera Cruz to Mexico, $1 to $2 per twenty-five pounds.

A mule will generally carry from 300 lbs. to 400 lbs. according to the state of the roads; and where it is practicable, without the loss of draw-back, goods should be packed in parcels of 150 pounds to 200 pounds, as each mule-load must be in two equal packages.

Re-packing at the sea-ports costs about four dollars a package, or eight dollars a load.

The Mexicans pack goods with great skill and neatness, and there is no danger of damage from rain.

Import duties at the sea-ports payable in three months from the date of entry.

Sales are usually made for cash at Mexico. A cash sale is payable in fifteen days.

On large sales, sometimes a credit of three and four months is asked. Payment always made in Mexican dollars.

Doubloons are an article of merchandise, and have no fixed value. Those coined in Mexico are worth eighteen to twenty dollars. Those coined at the other mints are worth from sixteen to seventeen dollars.

Bills of exchange on foreign countries unattainable.

Carriage of specie from Mexico to Vera Cruz one and a half to two per cent.

Fine Calicoes, fast colours, full breadth and new patterns, sixteen dollars per piece.

Silk and cotton hose, open all over the foot—for ladies—good.

White Russia sheetings—for soldier's use—from 30 to 32 dollars per piece.

Cloths, French—Spanish preferred—from six to ten dollars per vara.

Black Silk—much worn
Black Lace—much worn
Canton Silks
Spanish Silks
Florentines
Canton crapes from 10 to 12 dolls. per piece

} Markets glutted; the Indian goods supplied in great abundance from the ports on the Pacific Ocean.

An Arroba is equal to 25lbs. English.

A Vara is equal to seven-eighths of an English yard.

Additional Memoranda, taken at the City of Mexico, July, 1822.

Powder.—Gunpowder is manufactured by the government factory at Chapoltepec. It costs the government 37½ cents per pound, and sells at $1 37½ and $1 62½ cents.

Arms.—Sabres, pistols, and muskets, of excellent quality, are also made at the government factory, but cost high. Horseman's pistols, superior, 30 to 35 dollars per pair. Muskets 20 to 25 dollars each. Sabres 8 dollars each.

Shawls.—Cotton, $\frac{5}{4}$ square, with two borders—outer border four inches wide—inner border two inches—some with and some without flowers at the corners—grounds, black with white borders—dark green, with light green borders, and vice versa—blue, with white borders—coffee, ½ to ¾ blacks.

Calicoes.—Small stripes, ¼ of an inch wide—colours lively—black grounds with small stripes—green grounds—fancy patterns.

Veils.—Black silk lace, $\frac{7}{8}$ deep, $\frac{9}{8}$ wide, with a border ¼ wide at bottom, with small sprigs throughout—some plain with the border.

Lace.—Black silk, six and ten inches wide—large flowers at the edge, and the interval filled with small sprigs—some, also, plain, for borders to silk veils.

Madrass Handkerchiefs.—Principally red grounds and small squares or checks of about half an inch, small yellow and green stripes mixed with the red.

Estopillas.—Very fine $\frac{7}{8}$ wide—$8\frac{1}{2}$ varas in length.

Platillas. Ditto . . . . . Hamburg or German.

Britannias. Ditto . . . . . ditto ditto.

Ditto. Ditto $\frac{1}{4}$ wide, $\frac{3}{4}$ narrow, French.

Marseilles Quilting.—A few pieces white, small patterns and very fine.

Linen.—Bellfield; also, fine Irish $\frac{4}{4}$ in pieces of eight varas, folded like a piece of Britannias, or in four instead of two.

Rouens.—Irish, $1\frac{1}{3}$ varas wide, 40 and 50 yards long, and very fine.

Hose—Silk and cotton for ladies must be very fine, and open at the feet and ankles: French preferred.

Skins.—Bear and otter, very black.

Sabres.—Best quality, French and English, mountings of copper, well gilded.

Wines.—Coast and Bordeaux, inferior quality.

Brandy.—Barcelona, in new casks containing 30 gallons.

Paper.—Spanish, foolscap, middling quality, (*media florete.*)

Feathers.—Military, ostrich, or same shape.

No. 7.

The trade between Spain and the Colonies, was confined to particular classes in both countries, until Charles V. allowed all his Castilian subjects to fit out expeditions from the principal ports of Spain, but exacted, under the penalties of death and confiscation of their property, that they should return to the port of Seville, which became the emporium of the American trade. The personal influence of the inhabitants increasing with their wealth, they induced the government to withdraw the permission to clear out from other ports. In 1720, when the navigation of the river Guadalquiver was impeded by sand bars, and became unfit to admit vessels of burden, the monopoly, with all its advantages, was transferred to Cadiz. Twenty-seven vessels were fitted out for the annual supply of Peru, Chile, and Terra Firma, and every three years, twenty-three were dispatched to Mexico and the northern provinces. The colonists were prohibited from trading with foreigners, or with Spanish vessels not included in their periodical fleets, and also from trading with each other. Peru could not receive supplies from Mexico, or Buenos Ayres from Terra Firma. No Spaniard could interfere with the trade of the interior, nor could any colonist embark his goods to Spain on his own account. A board of trade, established at Seville in the sixteenth century, regulated the extent, assortment, and distribution of the periodical cargoes. No person could load a vessel, or land articles of the return cargoes, without a license from this board. The galleons could not touch at any port, nor break bulk on their passage out or home. The triennial supplies could only be distributed over the northern colonies, and the annual galleons were appropriated to the settlements of the south. The supplies were extremely limited, it being supposed that the crown had an interest in making the same amount of duties fall upon a small quantity of goods, that the duties might be more easily levied, and that the colonist might be made to pay the whole. The duties were levied in the form of direct customs on the goods exported, or of

fees and dues for licences or tonnage. An import was laid on the bulk of the articles shipped, without regard to their nature or value. The *indulto* was a duty on the produce imported from the colonies, and fixed anew by government, every time the fleets returned from America. The declining state of the Spanish manufactories, and the inability of the mother country to furnish the necessary supplies of goods, obliged the council of Indies to use foreign articles; but they forced them to pass through the hands of the merchants of Seville, and afterwards of Cadiz. The profits of the monopolists of Cadiz were one hundred and seventy per cent. on goods bought in America, and two hundred and fifty on goods sold there. The import and export duties were exorbitant. Colonial produce bore a very high price in Spain, and the colonists purchased the necessary articles with this monstrous accumulation of profits and charges. Uloa mentions, that in Quito, a pound of iron sold for a dollar, and one of steel for one dollar and fifty cents. The contraband trade was, in consequence, very extensive; but although this gave the colonists a more abundant supply, it did not diminish the prices; the profits of the smugglers always bearing a proportion to the risk of entering the goods, and to the profits of legal commerce.

In 1740, expeditions, separate from the periodical fleets, were permitted to sail from the American colonies, to ports formerly debarred all direct intercourse with Spain. The high prices paid by these registered ships, for licences, amounted to a heavy duty on exports. In 1748, the permission was extended to other ports, but was soon restored exclusively to Cadiz. In 1764, regular packet boats were first established, and sailed from Corunna to the chief ports of America. Although permitted to trade, their cargoes were limited in extent, and to Spanish produce. They were obliged to sail from, and return to, Corunna. In 1765, the trade of the windward colonies was laid open to several ports of Spain. The *palmeo* was commuted to a duty of six per cent. on exports, and ships were cleared without licences. The grant, which had already included Louisiana, was extended in 1770, to Yucatan and Campeachy. In 1766, the cotton trade was opened to Catalonia, duty free, and in 1772, to the other provinces. In 1774, colonial produce, duty free, was permitted to be im-

ported into several ports of Spain. In 1778, the ordinance of 1775 was extended to Buenos Ayres, Chile, and Peru, and soon after to Santa Fè and Guatimala. This last ordinance granted some abatement of duties to vessels laden with Spanish produce, and to the precious metals, which had hitherto paid an enormous import duty. The jealousy of extending the benefits of their trade to foreigners, yielded to the necessity of supplying the colonies with slaves. The Spaniards were incapable of conducting this traffic, and for a certain tme, it was in the hands of a class of merchants in France. By the treaty of Utrecht, the *assiento* was transferred to Great Britain. The contraband trade which the English mingled with the importation of slaves, brought on a war, and put a stop to this foreign monopoly. The slave trade was then transferred to a private company, whose entrepot was Porto Rico. The total failure of this company obliged the government to take the supply into their own hands; and the incapacity of the Spanish merchants to conduct this complicated trade, forced them to contract with a British commercial house for an annual supply of three thousand slaves. In one year the Phillippine Company introduced into Buenos Ayres nearly four thousand.

In 1789, the slave trade with the islands, and with Caraccas, was thrown open to Spaniards and foreigners. Several exclusive companies have been formed since the commencement of the eighteenth century, but the Phillippine Company alone survived the restrictions and extravagant duties imposed on their trade by the government. The profits of this company are represented to have been very inconsiderable, not exceeding three or four per cent.

On the 12th of October, 1778, the council of Indies issued a decree of free commerce. The vessels were to belong exclusively to Spaniards, and to be of national construction. All the officers, and two-thirds of the crew to be Spanish. This decree confined the free trade to a few ports; but subsequent regulations extended the privilege to all the chief ports in Spain. The ports of the colonies were divided into major and minor ports, and some privileges were granted to the latter, in order to encourage them. The exports from Spain were divided into three classes. The ar-

ticles of the growth and manufacture of the mother country were called free articles, and paid nine and a half per cent. duty. The second class consisted of articles of the manufacture, but not of the growth of Spain; and paid twelve and a half per cent. duty. The third class included all foreign goods shipped to the colonies through Spain. They paid fifteen per cent. entry into Spain, seven per cent. export, and seven per cent entry into America; and with the maritime alcabala, the consultate, and other charges, the duties amounted to thirty three and a third per cent.

In 1778, the exports to the colonies were made in one hundred and seventy ships, and were worth seventy-four millions of reals vellon, and paid thirty-two millions duty. The imports of the same year, were made in one hundred and thirty ships, valued at seventy-four millions, and paid nearly three millions duty.

In 1778, the value of exports was five hundred millions—and of imports eight hundred and four and a half millions—and the duties exceed fifty-five millions.

No. 8.

BARON HUMBOLDT'S STATEMENT

OF THE

Extent and Population of the former Spanish Possessions in North and South America.

	Square leagues.	No. of Inhabitants.
Mexico	75,330	6,800,000
Guatemala	16,740	1,600,000
Cuba and Porto Rico	4,430	800,000
Colombia, Venezuela	33,600	900,000
Colombia, N. Salvador	58,250	1,800,000
Peru	42,240	1,400,000
Chile	14,240	1,100,000
Buenos Ayres	126,770	2,000,000
	372,100	16,400,000
The Brazils	256,990	4,000,000
	629,090	20,400,000

INDEX.

Academy of Fine Arts ..... 96—158
Africans 185
Agriculture 190
Alameda 68
All-Saints, Festival of the day of 86
Altamira 271
Amalgamation 217
Ancient Calendar 74
Apaseo 187
Appendix 1
Arroyo Sarco 174

B

Bata 169
Battle Ground 260
Baxio, The 187
Bishop's Quinta 281
Botanic Garden 159
Buena Vista 255

C

Canal of La Viga 110
Canal of Huehuetoca 166
Carizo 269
Carmelites, Convent of the 244
Cathedrals ..... 53—73
Cayman, Islands of 14
Celeya 188
Chamal, Mountain of 265
Chapoltepec 101
Character, National 159
Charles IV. Statue of 76
Chinampas, or Floating Gardens 107
Churches ..... 97—118—189
Cigar Manufactory 116
City of Mexico ..... 62—121

City of Mexico, Sketch of the first settlement of the 63
———— Description of the 65
———— Population of the 128
Civil Wars, Effects of the 201
Clergy, Riches of the..... 113—114
Cockpits ..... 115—245
Coffre of Perote 33
Coinage, Table of ..... 84—85
Colonial Trade 181
Commerce 127
Commercial Record of Goods suitable for the Mexican Market
Appendix 123
Congress 89
———— Dissolution of 85
———— Iturbide's Message to 65
Conde de Regla, Visit to the 78
Constitution, Project of a, for the Mexican Republic *Appendix* 73
Contadera, Mountain of 261
Country, Face of the 172
Cuba, Island of 284
—— Population of 286
—— Number of Slaves imported in 289
—— Revenue of 290
—— Inhabitants of 292
Cucharras, Mountain of 265

D

Decree of the Executive ..... *Appendix* 70
Del Carmen, Church of 189
Departure from Mexico 277
Divisions, Geographical ..... *Appendix* 10
Documents accompanying the Historical Sketch .... *do.* 65

E

Encero, Village of 31
Epidemics 99
Evangelistas 105
Executive, Decree of the 70

F

Fair of Queretaro 183
Farm House 249
Fine Arts, Academy of ..... 96—158

G

Gallos, Mountain of 260
Game 267
Geographical Divisions ..... *Appendix* 10

Government 154
Guanaxuato 204
——— Population of 214
Guanabacoa 283
Guatemala, Provinces of ..... *Appendix* 15
Guautitlan 166

H

Hacienda de Burras 202
Hacienda de Plata 216
Hacienda de la Pila 242
Hacienda of the Laguna Seca 247
Havana 280
Historical Sketch of Mexico ..... *Appendix* 22
Huehuetoca, Canal of 167
Humboldt's Statement of the extent and population of the former Spanish possessions in North and South America *Appendix* 138

I & J

Jolapa, Town of 35
——— Inhabitants of 37
——— Departure from 40
Journey from Tampico to Mexico ..... *Appendix* 1
Image of the Virgin 118
Indians 107
Indian Slavery 183
Iturbide, Interview with 91
Iturbide's Message to Congress ..... *Appendix* 65

L

Las Vigas, Village of 42
La Viga, Canal of 110
La Viga 256
La Pila 242
Lady of Guadeloupe, Magnificent Church of the 118
Learning, State of 112
Laxa, River 187

M.

Maguey, Culture of the 169
Manifest, addressed to the Mexican People, by the First Regiment of Infantry ..... *Appendix* 68
Manufactures ..... 134—183
Marfil 202
Market-places ..... 67—246
Mendicity ..... 55—67
Message to Congress, Iturbide's ..... *Appendix* 65
Mexico, City of ..... 62—121

Mexico, City of Sketch of the First Settlement of the 63
——————— Description of the 65
——————— Population of the 126
Mexico, Population of 147
——— Historical Sketch of 22
Mexican Calendar 74
Military Force 151
Militia, Table of the National ..... *Appendix* 112
Mina 238
Mines of Valenciana 205
—— of New Spain 220
Mint, Visit to the 70
Mount Pizarro 457
Mountains of Norla 257
Mountain of Gallos 260
——— of Contadera 261
——— of Cucharras 265
——— of Chamal ..... *ib.*
Muleteers 235

N

National Character 160
National Militia, Table of the ..... *Appendix* 112
New Spain, Mines of 220
Nopaluca, Town of 48
Norla, Mountains of 257

O

Ojo de Agua, Village of 47
Orcasitas 268
Ore, manner of selling 212

P

Paseo Nuevo 78
Paseo of la Viga 106
Pastoral Life 270
Palace of the Viceroy 70
Pedlars 246
Perote, Coffre of 33
——— Town of 43
Piracy 295
Pizarro, Mount 45
Plan del Rio, Village of 29
Population of Mexico 147
Prince of the Union 104
Procession in honour of the Patron Saint of Celeya 188
Provinces of Guatemala ..... *Appendix* 15
Puebla, City of 51

Puebla, Population of 56
——— viejo de Tampico 275
Puente del Rey, Magnificent Bridge of 27
Puerto Rico, Voyage to 1
——————— Island of 6
——————— Population of 7
——————— Produce and Exports of 8
——————— Revenue of ..... *ib.*
——————— Voyage from, to Vera Cruz 12

Q

Quelitan 253
Queretaro 182

R

Report of the Secretary of State ..... *Appendix* 86
Republic, Project of a Constitution for the Mexican ..... *do.* 73
Revenue 139
Rio Frio, Valley of 60
River Limon 267
River Raya de Sargento 268

S

Sales of Ore 212
Salt Works 119
San Domingo, Appearance of the Coast of 3
San Felipe 237
San Isidro 251
San Juan, Port of 4
San Juan del Rio 177
San Luis 242
San Martin 58
Santa Barbara 263
Santa Fè 24
Seasons 180
Secretary of State 71
——————— Report of the 86
Secretary of the Treasury, Abstract of a Report of the *Appendix* 113
Scenery 259
Schoolmaster 252
Sketch, Historical ..... *Appendix* 22
Stages from Tampico to Mexico ..... *do.* 9
Stages from Mexico to Vera Cruz ..... *do.* *ib.*
Superstition 265

T

Table of the National Militia ..... *Appendix* 112
Tampico, Journey from, to Mexico ..... *Appendix* 1
Tepe Agualco 46

Theatre 108
Tortillas 175
Trade, Colonial 181
Travelling Equipage 89
Treasury, Report of the Minister of the ..... *Appendix* 113
Tresguerras, a self-taught artist 188
Tula ..... 171—257

U

Union, Prince of the 104
University 111

V

Valenciana 205
——— Mines of ..... *ib.*
Valley of Rio Frio 60
Valley of Mexico 62
Vera Cruz, Voyage to 12
——— Arrival at 17
——— Custom-house Duties at 19
——— Climate of 21
——— Departure from 24
Viceroyal Palace in Mexico 70
Village Customs 254
Virgin, Miraculous Image of the 118
Volcanoes of Puebla 57
Voyage to Puerto Rico 1

W

Wars, Effects of the Civil 201
Wells 179

X.

Xaral 237

THE END.

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